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ABSTRACT

The materials in this resource guide include a four-part video, a poster-size cultural map with additional exercises, and the five sections of this guide. The unit, presented in English and Spanish, intends to introduce students to the peoples and cultures of the U.S.-Mexico border, to explore the concept of borders in their own communities, to use ethnographic investigation methods, and to foster critical thought through the use of oral interviews and other primary source materials. Each section of the guide begins with an introduction for teachers and then allows them to customize the materials for the individual classroom and students. The sections of the guide include: (1) "Introduction: What Does Borders and Identity Mean?"; (2) "History and Identity"; (3) "Celebrations and Identity"; (4) "Expressive Traditions and Identity"; (5) "Occupations and Identity"; and (6) "Borders and Identity in Your Own Community." An appendix includes a timeline of key dates, a glossary of cultural concepts and border terminology, an example of a 'corrido', an annotated resource listing and bibliography of historical and literary sources, a transcript of the video narration, and reprinted articles from the 1993 Festival of American Folklife program book. (EH)

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BORDERS AND IDENTITY

A Resource Guide for Teachers

IDENTIDAD Y FRONTERAS

Una guía para maestros

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Preface:

BACKGROUND TO THE BORDERS AND IDENTITY MATERIALS

◆

Prefacio:

ANTECEDENTES DE LOS MATERIALES DE IDENTIDAD Y FRONTERAS

En el verano de 1993, el Festival de las Culturas Populares de la Institución Smithsonian organizó un programa sobre la cultura en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México. Poco más de cien residentes de la región de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México se congregaron en la Explanada Nacional en Washington, D.C., para mostrar su conocimiento y habilidades a casi un millón de visitantes en el Festival. El Festival reunió a una gran variedad de personas que viven a ambos lados de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México, incluyendo a músicos, miembros de la patrulla fronteriza, cocineros, vaqueros y muchos otros. Gentes de diferentes culturas asistieron a Washington para participar en este programa. Entre ellas se contó con la presencia de chicanos, mexicanos, tejanos, mixtecos, tohono o'odham, pai pai, yaquis, mascogos (se conocen como seminoles negros en los Estados Unidos), cajunes y chinos. Los participantes del Festival fueron seleccionados por académicos y personas de la comunidad quienes investigaron las comunidades de la frontera y sus tradiciones.

El programa del Festival permitió echar una ojeada a los diferentes componentes que definen la cultura en la frontera: historias diferentes, creencias religiosas, ocupaciones laborales, identidades locales y regionales, música, arte, artesanías, teatro, prácticas curativas, cocina y narrativa.

El Festival se celebró en Washington, D.C., pero la investigación tomó lugar a lo largo de la frontera. El éxito del Festival animó al personal del Smithsonian, a los investigadores y a los participantes del mismo a producir materiales educativos que se pudieran usar a lo largo de la frontera y más allá de ésta. Los materiales educativos de *Identidad y Fronteras* se basan en fotografías, video y documentación auditiva de la investigación y presentación del Festival en 1993.

Estos materiales pretenden contribuir a una mejor comprensión de las complejidades de la cultura en la frontera enfocándose en la gente y lugares de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México. A través de un examen cuidadoso de las experiencias de los residentes de la frontera, así como de las experiencias de los estudiantes, los materiales invitan a los alumnos a explorar diferentes formas de fronteras y la forma en que las fronteras crean identidades. Las actividades planeadas exigirán que los estudiantes analicen de manera crítica y creativa y los estimularán a formar sus conclusiones

In the summer of 1993, the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife featured a program on the culture of the United States-Mexico borderlands. Over one hundred residents of the U.S.-Mexico border region gathered on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., to demonstrate their knowledge and skills to almost one million visitors. The Festival brought together a wide spectrum of people living on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, including musicians, members of the Border Patrol, cooks, cowboys, and many more. People came to Washington from many different backgrounds — among them Chicano, Mejicanò, Tejano, Mixteco, Tohono O'odham, Pai Pai, Yaqui, Black Seminole, Cajun, and Chinese — to participate in this program. The participants at the Festival were selected by scholars and community resource people along the border, who researched border communities and traditions.

The Festival program provided a glimpse of the many different components that shape border culture: different histories, religious beliefs, occupations, local and regional identities, music, art, crafts, theater, healing practices, foodways, and storytelling.

The Festival was held in Washington, D.C., but the research took place along the border. The success of the Festival encouraged Smithsonian staff and Festival researchers and participants to pursue production of educational materials, for

Gloria Moroyoqui, of Nogales, Sonora, shares border stories with (left to right) Enrique Lamadrid, of Albuquerque, New Mexico, Arturo Carrillo Strong, of Tucson, Arizona, and Reynaldo Hernández, of Nogales, Arizona. • Gloria Moroyoqui de Nogales, Sonora, comparte historias de la vida en la frontera con (izquierda a derecha) Enrique Lamadrid de Albuquerque, Nuevo México, Arturo Carrillo Strong de Tucson, Arizona, y Reynaldo Hernández de Nogales, Arizona. *Photo by/foto de Richard Strauss, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution*

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mediante la observación y el razonamiento cuidadosos. Se alentará a los estudiantes a que se expresen sobre sí mismos mediante representaciones teatrales, escritura y trabajos artísticos.

Identidad y *Fronteras* incluye esta guía para estudiantes y maestros, un video de cuatro partes y un mapa cultural tamaño póster con ejercicios adicionales. El objetivo de estos materiales es:

- introducir a los estudiantes a la gente y las culturas de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México;
- guiar a los estudiantes en una investigación de las fronteras en sus propias comunidades y analizar la forma en que las fronteras afectan sus vidas e identidades;
- introducir al estudiante y a los maestros a la investigación etnográfica (observación cuidadosa y documentación de personas vivas) que usan los antropólogos y estudiosos del folklore para explorar una cultura viviente;
- involucrar a los estudiantes en un análisis crítico mediante el uso de entrevistas, fotografías, videos, mapas, documentos y lecturas. Los ejercicios para estudiantes serán de varios tipos: escritos, actuados y grabados.

Esta guía ha sido escrita para maestros y estudiantes. Cada sección comienza con una introducción para el maestro. El formato de hojas sueltas le permite al maestro copiar páginas cuando sea necesario y añadir nuevos materiales para "personalizar" esta guía en cada salón de clase. Los ejercicios y lecturas han sido escritos para una audiencia estudiantil y pueden copiarse de este libro.

La estructura general de la guía para maestros y estudiantes es la siguiente:

- una introducción al concepto de *identidad* y *fronteras* con ejercicios relacionados al tema;

María Rodríguez de Tumacácori, Arizona, demuestra sus habilidades culinarias en el Festival de las Culturas Populares. • María Rodríguez, of Tumacácori, Arizona, demonstrates her cooking techniques at the Festival of American Folklife in Washington.

Foto de/photo by Richard Strauss, cortesía/courtesy Smithsonian Institution

use along the border and beyond. The *Borders and Identity* educational materials are based on the photographs and video and audio documentation from the 1993 Festival research and presentation.

These materials aim to contribute to an increased understanding of the complexities of border culture through a focus on the peoples and places of the U.S.-Mexico border. The materials encourage students to explore different kinds of borders and to examine how borders shape identities, through close examination of the experiences of border residents and also of students themselves. Planned activities will challenge students to think critically and creatively, and will stimulate them to form conclusions through careful observation and analysis. Students will be encouraged to express themselves through role-playing, writing, and art work.

The *Borders and Identity* materials include this teacher resource guide, a four-part video, and a poster-size cultural map with additional exercises. The goals for the materials are:

- to introduce students to the peoples and cultures of the U.S.-Mexico border;
- to guide students in an investigation of borders in their own communities and to think about how such borders affect their lives and identities;
- to introduce students and teachers to ethnographic investigation methods (close observation and documentation of living persons) used by folklorists and anthropologists to explore living culture;
- to engage students in critical thought through the use of oral interviews, photographs, videos, maps, documents, and topical readings. Student exercises take a variety of forms: written, performed, recorded.

This guide is written for teachers and students. Each section begins with an introduction for the teacher. The loose-leaf format allows teachers to reproduce pages as needed and to add new materials to "customize" the materials for each classroom. Exercises and readings are written for a student audience and are meant to be xeroxed from this book.

The overall structure of the teacher resource guide is as follows:

- an introduction to the concept of *borders and identity* with related exercises;

- cuatro secciones que corresponden a las cuatro partes del video (historia, celebraciones, arte popular y trabajo). Cada sección incluye:
    - una discusión con preguntas que se debe llevar a cabo antes de observar el video;
    - preguntas y ejercicios que se hacen después de ver el video;
    - una lectura breve con preguntas para discusión y ejercicios.
- una sección de conclusiones para guiar a los estudiantes en su proyecto de documentación;
- un apéndice con fechas clave, palabras clave, ejemplo de corrido, bibliografía, texto de la narración del video y reimpresiones de artículos publicados para el programa del Festival de 1993.

El contenido de las seis secciones más el Apéndice es el siguiente:

Introducción: ¿Qué significa *Identidad y fronteras*?

Esta sección localiza la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México mediante el uso de mapas e introduce el tema de las fronteras. ¿Qué es una frontera? ¿Cómo afecta la vida de las gentes? ¿Qué significa la identidad? La discusión de preguntas y las otras actividades comienzan enfocándose en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México pero se extienden para invitar a los estudiantes a examinar cómo otras fronteras también forman la identidad de las gentes.

Parte 1: Historia e identidad

Esta sección pone énfasis en la importancia que las circunstancias históricas tienen en la formación de la cultura en la frontera actual. Además de ver la primera parte del video, los estudiantes usarán el mapa cultural. Una lectura breve da más información sobre la historia de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México.

Carlos Callejo es un muralista de El Paso, Texas. • Carlos Callejo is a muralist fom El Paso, Texas. **Foto de/photo by Nick Parrella, cortesia/courtesy Smithsonian Institution**

Parte 2: Celebraciones e identidad

Esta sección estudia las celebraciones en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México: los preparativos para el Día de los Muertos, las festividades de los tohono o'odham y las danzas pascola. Esta sección muestra cómo muchas de estas celebraciones dependen de la relación

- four sections corresponding to the four parts of the video (History, Celebrations, Expressive Traditions, Occupations). Each section includes:
  - a discussion quotation with questions to be completed prior to viewing the video;
  - questions and exercises to follow the video;
  - a short reading with discussion questions and exercises.
- a concluding section to guide students in their own documentation project;
- appendix with key dates, key words, a *corrido* (ballad), bibliography, text of the video narration, and reprints of articles from the 1993 Festival program book.

The content of the six sections plus Appendix is as follows:

Introduction: What Does *Borders and Identity* Mean?

This section locates the U.S.-Mexico border through the use of maps and introduces the topic of borders. What is a border? How does it affect people's lives? What does identity mean? Discussion questions and exercises encourage students to examine maps — both of the U.S.-Mexico border as well as their own communities — and to guide students to understand how borders shape people's identities as well.

Part 1: History and Identity

This section stresses the importance of historical circumstances in the formation of today's border culture. In addition to Part 1 of the video, students will use the cultural map. A short reading provides more in-depth information about the history of the U.S.-Mexico border.

Part 2: Celebrations and Identity

This section looks at celebrations on the U.S.-Mexico border: Day of the Dead preparations, Tohono O'odham feasts, and Pascola dances. This section shows how many of these celebrations rely on the interdependence of people on both sides of the border. Students document and explore the rituals, celebrations, and secular shrines in their own lives. The short reading examines the importance of the Virgin of Guadalupe as a cultural symbol along the U.S.-Mexico border.

Part 3: Expressive Traditions and Identity

This section introduces students to several expressive traditions on the border: mural art, lowrider cars, and traditional music. This section discusses how these

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entre las personas a ambos lados de la frontera. Los estudiantes explorarán y estudiarán los rituales, celebraciones y altares seculares en sus vidas. La lectura breve examina la importancia de la Virgen de Guadalupe como símbolo cultural a lo largo de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México.

Parte 3: Arte Popular e identidad

Esta sección introduce al estudiante a varias tradiciones expresivas en la frontera: murales, carros *lowriders* y música tradicional. La sección discute cómo estas formas culturales frecuentemente representan asuntos sociales contemporáneos e históricos. Los ejercicios examinan los corridos, los clubes de *lowriders* y el teatro callejero. La lectura breve explora la historia y las manifestaciones contemporáneas de los murales en la frontera.

Parte 4: Trabajo e identidad

Esta sección explora varias ocupaciones que han sido creadas dada la realidad geográfica, política y económica de la región de la frontera: la ganadería, la patrulla fronteriza, el trabajo en las maquiladoras y venta de artesanías a turistas. Los ejercicios examinan cómo las personas aprenden sus ocupaciones y cómo las ocupaciones se desarrollan con el tiempo. Las lecturas incluyen un texto sobre los trabajadores en una maquiladora y un artículo sobre los agentes de la patrulla fronteriza.

Parte 5: Identidad y Fronteras en tu comunidad

Esta sección guía a los estudiantes a lo largo de un proyecto de documentación de su comunidad. También se incluyen ideas para un proyecto final e información sobre la metodología a seguir.

Apéndice:

El apéndice incluye una cronología de fechas clave, un glosario de palabras clave, un ejemplo de un corrido, una bibliografía de fuentes literarias, históricas, de ciencias sociales y de cultura popular, el texto de la narración del video y reimpresiones de artículos escritos para el programa del Festival de las Culturas Populares de 1993.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre cómo usar estos materiales, o si desea ponerse en contacto con otros maestros en la región fronteriza o en cualquier otra parte donde estos materiales se han distribuido, sírvase comunicarse con el Education Specialist, Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza SW, Suite 2600, MRC 914, Washington, DC 20560, (202) 287-3424.

cultural forms often depict historical and contemporary social issues. Exercises examine *corridos*, lowrider clubs, and street theater. Readings include excerpts from the story of a musical duo and an explanation of the history and contemporary manifestations of murals on the border.

Part 4: Occupations and Identity

This section explores several occupations that have been created by the geographic, political, and economic reality of the border region: tourist craft sales, assembly-line work, ranching, and the Border Patrol. Exercises examine how people learn the skills needed for their jobs, and how these occupations often evolve over time. Readings include a piece on *maquiladora* factory workers and an article on Border Patrol agents.

Part 5: Borders and Identity in Your Own Community

This section guides students through a documentation project on their own community. Ideas for a final project, as well as practical information about methodology, are included.

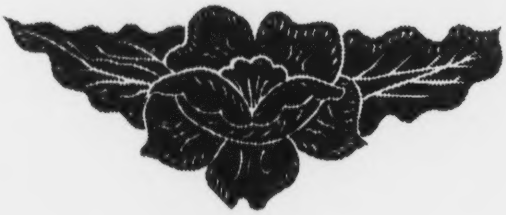
Appendix:

The appendix includes a timeline of key dates, a glossary of cultural concepts and border terminology, an example of a *corrido*, an annotated resource listing and bibliography of historical and literary sources, a transcript of the video narration, and reprinted articles from the 1993 Festival program book.

If you have any questions about using these materials, or if you wish to contact other teachers in the border region or elsewhere who have implemented these materials, please contact: Education Specialist, Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza SW, Suite 2600, MRC 914, Washington, DC 20560, (202) 287-3424.

Introduction:

WHAT DOES BORDERS AND IDENTITY MEAN?



Introducción:

¿QUÉ SIGNIFICA IDENTIDAD Y FRONTERAS?

INTRODUCCIÓN *para el* MAESTRO

¿Qué es una frontera? ¿Por qué es importante explorar la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México? ¿De qué manera las fronteras afectan la identidad? Estas son algunas preguntas que puede discutir con sus estudiantes. Las respuestas posibles son varias.

Una frontera puede considerarse una línea geopolítica entre
● barrios, colonias o sectores ● ciudades ● regiones ● estados ● países.

Una frontera también puede ser una división social entre
● familias ● grupos étnicos ● religiones ● clases ● géneros ● ocupaciones.

La frontera entre Estados Unidos y México es muchas cosas diferentes: una línea en un mapa; una extensión de 3 mil 200 kilómetros de paisaje diferente; un río; una cerca; estaciones fronterizas de cruce. La frontera es también una compleja región cultural que hospeda a una gran variedad de personas. Algunas de estas personas han vivido allí desde hace muchos siglos; otras han llegado recientemente. Algunas personas fueron atraídas por las oportunidades económicas; y otras se han quedado a pesar de la pobreza y las dificultades porque ésta es la tierra de sus antepasados.

La frontera divide a dos países y alimenta a una cultura propia. Algunas tradiciones se conservan a pesar de la existencia de la frontera, otras son transformadas y nuevas tradiciones son creadas por la frontera. La frontera separa a comunidades pero también une a las personas mediante la cooperación así como también mediante la confrontación.

Esta sección de materiales de *Identidad y Fronteras* introduce al estudiante a la geografía de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México, estimulándolo a dibujar mapas de su propia comunidad. La sección de preguntas incluye: ¿Qué es lo que divide a tu comunidad, tu barrio, tu escuela de las otras? ¿De qué manera las personas cooperan o compiten dada esta división? ¿De qué manera una frontera puede ser buena o mala?

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

What is a border? Why is it important to explore the U.S.-Mexico border? How do borders affect identities? These are questions to discuss with your students. There are many possible answers.

A border can be a geopolitical line between

● neighborhoods ● cities ● regions ● states ● countries

A border can also be a social divider between

● families ● ethnic groups ● religions ● classes ● genders
● occupations

The border between the United States and Mexico is many different things: a line on a map; a 2,000-mile stretch of changing landscape; a river; a barbed-wire fence; a border-crossing station. It is also a complex cultural region which is home to a wide spectrum of people. Some have lived in the region for centuries; others have arrived recently. Some were drawn by economic opportunities; others have stayed despite poverty and hardship, because it is the land of their ancestors.

The border divides two countries, but it also fosters a culture of its own. Some traditions persist in spite of the border. Some traditions are transformed by the border. And the border creates new traditions as well. The border separates communities, but it also brings people together, through confrontation as well as cooperation.

This section of the *Borders and Identity* materials introduces students to the geography of the U.S.-Mexico border, and encourages students to draw maps of their own communities. Questions include: What separates your community, your neighborhood, your school from others? How do people cooperate or compete across these divisions? How can a border be both beneficial and harmful?

Los estudiantes luego prosiguen al tema de identidad. La discusión de preguntas incluye: ¿De qué manera la frontera afecta la vida de estas y otras personas? ¿De qué manera las fronteras en las vidas de los estudiantes afectan su identidad? Después de discutir las preguntas los estudiantes harán unos ejercicios en los que usarán apodos y credenciales de identificación para analizar sus identidades.

Ejercicios sugeridos para esta sección:

Ejercicio con mapas: Consiga varios mapas de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México, por ejemplo, un mapa de carreteras, uno topográfico y uno de población, para recordarle al estudiante que los mapas presentan diferentes puntos de vista.

Definición de identidad: Para obtener las definiciones de "hispano", "chicano" y "latino", use el glosario de Palabras Clave incluido en el Apéndice. Es posible discutir también con los estudiantes el uso de términos similares que usa en su experiencia personal o en la de los estudiantes.

Diseña tu credencial de identidad: Muéstrele a los estudiantes algunas de sus credenciales de identificación tales como licencia de conducir, tarjetas de crédito, tarjetas de seguro social, etcétera. Discuta con los estudiantes el uso de cada credencial. Proporcióneles a sus estudiantes colores y marcadores así como dos tarjetas en blanco.

Al concluir esta sección, los estudiantes:

- *conocerán la geografía básica de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México.*
- *reconocerán que en la frontera viven personas con diferentes antecedentes culturales.*
- *habrán examinado fotografías que les permitirán descubrir la identidad de algunas personas.*
- *habrán analizado los testimonios de dos personas que viven en la frontera.*
- *habrán identificado las fronteras en sus propias comunidades.*
- *habrán explorado de que manera las fronteras en sus vidas definen sus propias identidades.*

Students then move to the subject of identity. Discussion questions include: How do the borders in students' lives affect their own identities? These questions are followed by exercises in which students analyze their own identities, using nicknames and identification cards.

Suggestions to prepare for exercises in this section:

Map Exercise: Obtain several types of maps of the U.S.-Mexico border, for instance, a road map, a topographical map, and a population map, to remind students that maps present different points of view.

Statement of Identity: For definitions of terms like "Hispanic," "Chicano," "Latino," see the glossary in the Appendix. You may wish to discuss with students the uses of these or parallel terms in your own experience, as well as their own.

Designing Your Own Identity Card: Show students your own identification cards such as a driver's license, credit cards, insurance cards, etc. Discuss the different uses of each card. Provide each student with two 3" x 5" blank file cards and art supplies such as colored pencils, and markers, or materials for collage.

By the end of this section, students will:

- *understand the basic geography of the U.S.-Mexico border.*
- *learn that people from many cultural backgrounds live on the border.*
- *examine photographs as clues to people's identities.*
- *analyze the statements of two border residents.*
- *identify borders in their own communities.*
- *explore how their own identities are shaped by the borders in their lives.*

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Ejercicios con el Mapa

1. ¿QUÉ ES UNA FRONTERA?

Dibuja un mapa del barrio cerca de tu escuela o de tu casa. Examina las fronteras o límites que hay en el mapa que dibujaste. ¿Cómo decidiste qué incluir en tu mapa y qué no incluir? ¿Que cosas marcan tus fronteras (cercas, calles, ríos, estacionamientos)? ¿Qué hay más allá de tus fronteras? ¿De qué manera se diferencia de lo que hay en tu mapa? ¿Qué es similar? ¿Necesitas cruzar estas fronteras? ¿Qué pasa cuándo las cruzas?

2. LECTURA DEL MAPA:

Los siguientes materiales presentan a las personas y las culturas en la región fronteriza entre Estados Unidos y México. En el mapa página 29 se puede observar más claramente la región geográfica de la frontera.

- ¿Por cuántos estados de Estados Unidos pasa la frontera? ¿Por cuántos estados de México pasa la frontera?
- ¿Cuántas ciudades gemelas como El Paso y Ciudad Juárez puedes localizar?
- ¿Qué elementos geográficos te ayudan a definir la frontera?
- Mira otro mapa de la región fronteriza y estudia las diferencias en el tipo de información que cada uno ofrece. ¿Qué diferencias hay entre un mapa de carreteras y un mapa topográfico?
- Si tu no eres de la región fronteriza, busca un mapa de tu ciudad, municipio, condado o estado y discute las fronteras de tu región.

La frontera es una región geográfica y también define una región cultural en la que viven muchas personas diferentes. En 1993, residentes de diferentes experiencias culturales viajaron a Washington, D.C., para asistir al Festival de las Culturas Populares de la Institución Smithsonian. Estas personas hablaron sobre la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México y sobre la forma en que la frontera afecta sus vidas.

En el Festival de Washington un tema que se discutió con frecuencia fue de cómo vivir en la frontera afecta la identidad de las personas. Los siguientes materiales tratan sobre este tema. Los ejercicios te ayudarán a explorar los factores que constituyen tu identidad.

Map Exercises

1. WHAT IS A BORDER?

Draw a map of the neighborhood around your school or home. Examine the borders or boundaries of the map you drew. How did you decide where to stop drawing? What marks these borders (fences, roads, rivers, parking lots)? What lies beyond these borders? How is the area beyond different from what is inside your mapped area? How is it the same? Do you need to cross these borders? What happens when you cross them?

2. READING MAPS

The following materials introduce the peoples and cultures of the U.S.-Mexico border region. The map (page 29) offers a closer look at the geographical region of the border.

- Name the states on either side of the U.S.-Mexico border.
- How many "twin cities," like El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, can you find?
- What geographic features help to define the border?
- Look at another map of the border region and study the differences in the information provided. How does a road map differ from a topographical map?
- If you are not from the border region, obtain a map of your home city, county, or state. Discuss the borders of your own region.

The border is a geographic region. It also defines a cultural region which is home to many different people. In 1993, border residents from many different cultural backgrounds traveled to Washington, D.C., for the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife. They came to talk about the U.S.-Mexico border, and how it affects their lives.

At the Festival in Washington, a frequent topic of discussion was how living on the U.S.-Mexico border affects a person's identity. This topic runs through the *Borders and Identity* materials. The following exercises help you to explore what factors make up your own identity.

María Paredes de Solís de Laredo, Texas, reflexiona sobre la vida en la frontera con (izquierda a derecha) Enrique Lamadrid de Albuquerque, Nuevo México, Benito Peralta, un indígena pai pai de Santa Catarina, Baja California, y José Luis Sandoval de descendencia china de Tecate, Baja California. ● María Paredes de Solís, of Laredo, Texas, reflects on life in the border region with (left to right) Enrique Lamadrid of Albuquerque, New Mexico, Benito Peralta, a Pai Pai Indian from Santa Catarina, Baja California, and José Luis Sandoval, of Chinese descent from Tecate, Baja California. Foto de/photo by Richard Strauss, cortesia/courtesy Smithsonian Institution

EJERCICIOS DE IDENTIDAD

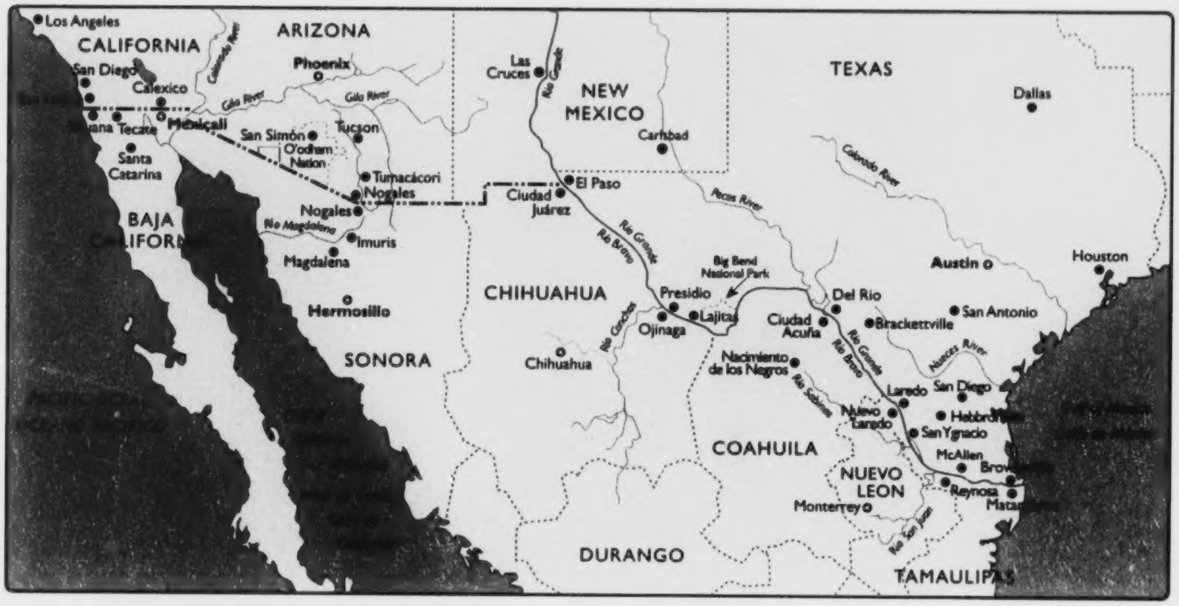
1. DEFINICIÓN DE IDENTIDAD

- ¿Qué significa la palabra *identidad*?
- Escribe varias ideas. ¿Puedes pensar en otras palabras que tienen la misma raíz (por ejemplo identificar, identificación, idéntico)? Explora cuál es la relación entre estas palabras.
- Busca la definición de *identidad* en un diccionario. Compara las definiciones en diccionarios diferentes.

PREGUNTAS A DISCUTIR:

1. De acuerdo a tu experiencia, ¿estás o no de acuerdo con lo que dice el diccionario? ¿Cubre la definición del diccionario las situaciones que tú has experimentado? ¿Qué añadirías?

2. Si no estás de acuerdo con alguna parte de la definición del diccionario, reescríbela o añade la información que refleje tus ideas al respecto.


Los Angeles
CALIFORNIA
ARIZONA
San Diego
Calexico
Phoenix
Tijuana
Tecate
Mexicali
San Simón
O'odham Nation
Tucson
Santa Catarina
Tumacácori
Nogales
Nogales
BAJA CALIFORNIA
Imuris
Magdalena
Hermosillo
SONORA
Las Cruces
NEW MEXICO
Carlsbad
El Paso
Ciudad Juárez
CHIHUAHUA
Chihuahua
Presidio
Ojinaga
Lajitas
Big Bend National Park
TEXAS
Dallas
Austin
Houston
Del Rio
Ciudad Acuña
Brackettville
San Antonio
Nacimiento de los Negros
Laredo
Nuevo Laredo
San Diego
Hebbronville
San Ygnacio
McAllen
Brownsville
Reynosa
Matamoros
COAHUILA
NUEVO LEON
Monterrey
DURANGO
TAMAULIPAS
Rio Grande
Río Bravo
Pecos River
Colorado River
Nueces River
Gila River
Colorado River
Río Conchos
Río Sabinas
Río San Juan
Río Magdalena

IDENTITY EXERCISES

1. DEFINING IDENTITY

- What does the word *identity* mean?
- Write down several ideas. Can you think of other words that might come from the same root (i.e., identify, identification, identical)? Explore the relationship of these words to one another.
- Look up the word *identity* in a dictionary. Compare definitions from different dictionaries.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Based on your own experience, do you agree or disagree with the meaning in the dictionary? Do the dictionary definitions cover situations that you have experienced? What would you add?

2. If you disagree with some points of the dictionary meaning, or find the definition incomplete, rewrite the entry to reflect your own ideas.

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2. UN TESTIMONIO DE IDENTIDAD

Lee el siguiente testimonio de Carmen Cristina Moreno, una cantante de California que habló de sus experiencias. Al terminar de leer discute el testimonio usando las preguntas que encontrarás más adelante.

> *Para una persona hija de padres mexicanos que nació en este país, para un mexicanoamericano, para un chicano, para un hispano, es difícil encontrar su identidad. Estoy convencida de esto. Me siento ambigua, no eres ni de aquí ni de allá. Los mexicanos no te aceptan porque naciste aquí. Te tienen resentimiento porque naciste en la tierra de la abundancia y si vas a México para ellos eres una americana, una gringa. Eres un extraño y te discriminan, en esta situación hay una barrera cultural.*

PREGUNTAS A DISCUTIR:

1. Carmen Cristina usa términos diferentes para referirse a una persona que nació en Estados Unidos y cuyos padres son mexicanos: hispano, chicano, mexicanoamericano, americano, gringa, ¿qué diferencia hay en el significado de estas palabras?

2. ¿Por qué crees que Carmen Cristina se sintió ambigua? ¿Alguna vez te has sentido de esta manera?

3. ¿Por qué piensas que Carmen Cristina se sintió como una "extraña" cuando fue a México? ¿Alguna vez tú o alguien que conoces tuvo una experiencia que te hizo sentir como una persona extraña? Describe cómo te sentiste.

4. ¿Qué quiere decir Carmen cuando habla de "una barrera cultural"? ¿Qué es una barrera? ¿Es algo diferente o similar a una frontera? ¿Qué otros tipos de barreras existen? **Pista:** ¿Puede una cerca construida alrededor de la propiedad de alguien ser una barrera? ¿Mantiene a unas personas adentro y a otras afuera?

3. OTRA OJEADA A LA IDENTIDAD

Lee el siguiente testimonio de Enrique Lamadrid, un folklorista de Nuevo México.

> *Continuamente estamos negociando nuestra identidad, cada día en nuestras vidas, cada vez que abrimos la boca. Me llamo Enrique Lamadrid, soy de Nuevo México. Cada vez que abro la boca tengo que decidir si voy a hablar en inglés o en español. Cuando era un niño para algunas personas era Rick y para otras era Enrique. Tenía una identidad dual pero no es algo que se pueda cortar en dos, las dos están unidas. Estoy seguro que todos hemos vivido esto.*

2. A STATEMENT OF IDENTITY

Read the following statement from Carmen Cristina Moreno, a singer from Cathedral City, California, who spoke about her own background. Then discuss the statement using the questions below.

> *It's very difficult for a Hispanic, a Chicano, a Mexican American child, a child of Mexicans born in this country, to find identity. I felt that strongly. I felt ambiguous — you're neither here nor there. The Mexicans do not accept you because you were born here. They're resentful because you were born in the land of plenty. And you go down to Mexico, and to them you are an American, a gringa. You are an outcast, and they discriminate against you. And, here of course, there's a cultural barrier.*

Carmen Cristina Moreno is a singer from Cathedral City, California. • Carmen Cristina Moreno es una cantante de Cathedral City, California. Photo by/photo de Jeff Tinsley, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Carmen Cristina uses different terms to describe a child who is born in the United States of Mexican parents: Hispanic, Chicano, Mexican American, American, *gringa*. How do these meanings differ?

2. Why do you think Carmen Cristina felt "ambiguous"? Have you ever felt this way?

3. Why did Carmen Cristina feel like an "outcast" when she went to Mexico? Have you, or has anyone you know, ever had an experience that made you feel like an outsider? Describe how you felt.

4. What does Carmen Cristina mean by "a cultural barrier"? What is a barrier? Is it different from or similar to a border? What other kinds of barriers exist? **Clue:** Could a barrier be a fence built around someone's property? Does a fence keep people in or out?

3. ANOTHER LOOK AT IDENTITY

Read the following statement from Enrique Lamadrid, a folklorist from New Mexico.

> *We continually negotiate our identity, every day of our lives, every time we open our mouths. My name is Enrique Lamadrid. I'm from New Mexico. Every time I open my mouth, I have to decide whether to talk to people in Spanish or English. When I was growing up, to some people I was Rick, to other people Enrique. It's a dual identity, but it's not cut in the middle. Both of these ends meet, and there is a unity to all of that. All of us have experienced that, I'm sure.*

William "Dub" Warrior visita a Gertrude Factor Vásquez en su tienda en Nacimiento de los Negros. • William "Dub" Warrior visits with Gertrude Factor Vásquez at her store in Nacimiento de los Negros.

Foto de/photo by Olivia Cadaval

PREGUNTAS A DISCUTIR:

1. ¿Qué quiere decir Enrique cuando habla de "negociar nuestra identidad"?
2. ¿De qué manera la forma en que uno se expresa sobre sí mismo lo identifica? ¿Si hablas más de un idioma, has vivido algo similar a lo que vivió Enrique? **Pista:** Cuando decimos que alguien habla diferente podemos estarnos refiriendo no sólo a que habla un idioma distinto. Es posible que tú hables de una manera diferente con tus amigos y con tus padres o en la escuela.
3. ¿Qué es una "identidad dual"? ¿Cómo alguien puede ser más de una persona al mismo tiempo? ¿Has experimentado algo similar?

4. APODOS

William Warrior es un seminole negro (como se conoce a los mascogos en Estados Unidos) de Del Rio, Texas. En la década de 1830, los seminoles negros migraron del oeste de Florida al Territorio Indio (en donde hoy está Oklahoma). En las dos regiones, los seminoles negros padecieron persecuciones esclavistas. En busca de refugio por la represión sufrida en Estados Unidos muchos seminoles negros se mudaron al norte de México. A sus descendientes de este lado se les llama mascogos. En 1870 algunos seminoles negros regresaron a Estados Unidos para enrolarse en el ejército de Estados Unidos.

William Warrior tiene varios nombres. Su nombre de pila es William pero la

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What does Enrique mean when he says we "negotiate our identity"?

2. How does the way someone expresses him/herself identify him/her? If you speak more than one language, have you had an experience similar to Enrique's? **Clue:** Different speech does not necessarily mean different languages like English and Spanish. You may speak one way to your close friends and another way to your parents or at school.

3. What is a "dual identity"? How can someone be more than one person at the same time? Have you experienced this feeling?

4. NICKNAMES

William Warrior is a Black Seminole from Del Rio, Texas. In the 1830s Black Seminoles migrated west from Florida to Indian Territory (to what is now Oklahoma). In both regions, they were targets of slave raids. Many Black Seminoles moved to northern Mexico, seeking refuge from repression in the United States. In Mexico, they are known as Mascogos. In 1870, some of the Black Seminoles moved back to the United States to serve as scouts for the U.S. Army.

William Warrior has many different names. William is his given name, but he is known as Dub by most members of the Del Rio community. Dub has relatives across the border, in Nacimiento de los Negros, Mexico. In Spanish, the name William becomes Guillermo. Dub has a nickname in Mexico as well; people call him Memo. And if you are really close to him, you might call him Memito. Thus, William Warrior has five different names. How many do you have?

Miguel Luna Franco, born on the El Sáuz ranch in the northern state of Nuevo León, Mexico, recalls how he and his brother, Cirilo, came to be called El Palomo y El Gorrión (the Dove and the Sparrow).

> *Here come The Birds! From childhood, that's how we have been known in La Chona [the name of the small town near the ranch where they lived] and everywhere we have been since. Father says that he called me Gorrión [Sparrow] because I looked like those little birds that have very few feathers when they are born. I was bald at birth, and so he baptized me Gorrión. Palomo [Dove] was chubby when he was born, like a dove with a fat breast, and that's why Father gave him that name. To this day, when we are around, people say, "Here come the Pájaros [Birds]." It makes me think of my childhood, my town's people and the land we come from.*

Think of two names that people use for you. One might be your real or given name, and one might be a nickname that family or friends use. Write a short essay explaining how these names came about and how each name defines your identity in a different way.

mayor parte de la gente que vive en Del Rio lo conoce como "Dub". Dub tiene parientes al otro lado de la frontera en Nacimiento de los Negros, México. En español William es Guillermo. Dub también tiene un apodo en México, la gente lo llama "Memo", y si tú fueras su amigo lo llamarás Memito. William Warrior tiene cinco nombres diferentes. ¿Cuántos tienes tú?

Miguel Luna Franco, quien nació en el rancho El Sáuz en el estado de Nuevo León, en el norte de México, nos cuenta la historia de cómo él y su hermano adquirieron su nombre artístico de El Palomo y El Gorrión.

> *¡Ahí vienen Los Pájaros! Desde niños nos conocen de esa manera en La Chona [el nombre del pueblo cerca del rancho donde vivían] y ahora en todos lados. Dice papá que a mi me puso Gorrión porque me parecía a esos pajaritos que cuando nacen tienen muy pocas plumas y como yo estaba casi pelón al nacer me bautizo así. A Palomo porque cuando nació era gordito, lleno de carnes y como los palomos son pechugones, por eso le puso así. Hasta la fecha, cuando la gente sabe que andamos ahí, mencionan: "Aquí andan Los Pájaros". Me recuerda mi infancia, la gente del pueblo y la tierra de donde somos.*

Elige dos nombres por los que eres conocido. Uno puede ser tu verdadero nombre y otro el apodo que tu familia o tus amigos te han dado. Escribe un artículo breve en el que expliques por qué tienes esos nombres y cómo cada nombre define tu identidad en una manera diferente.

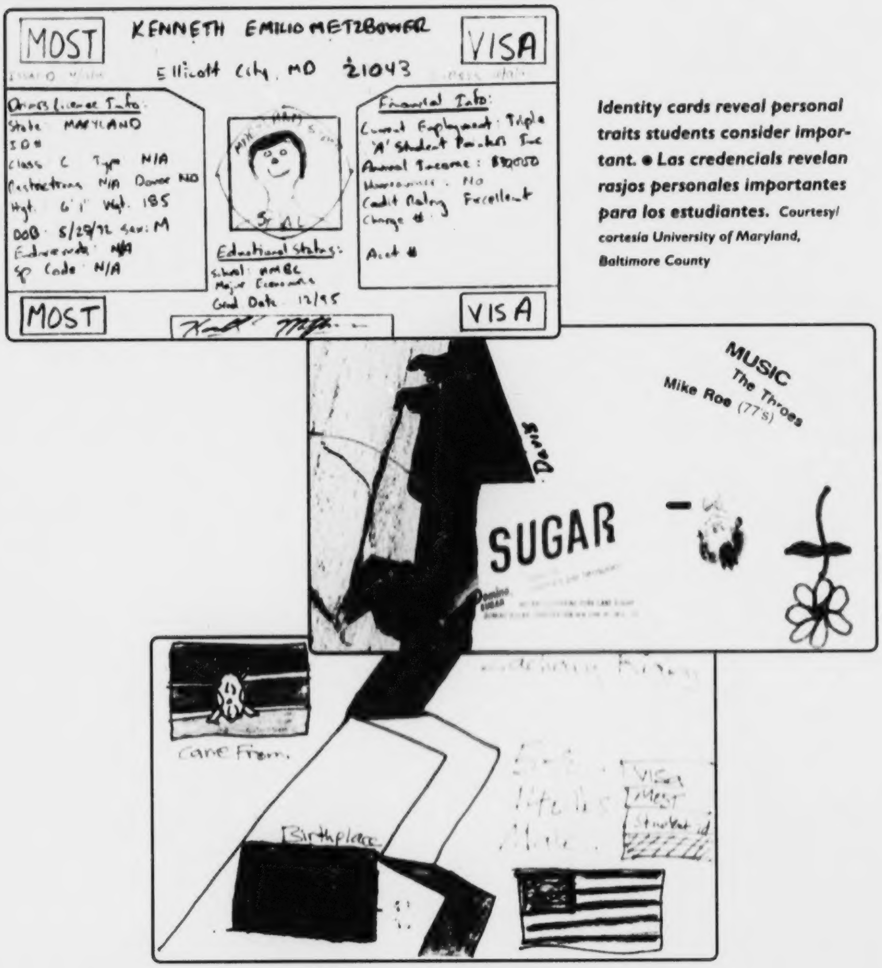
5. DISEÑA TU CREDENCIAL DE IDENTIDAD

1. Diseña tu credencial de identidad. (Las posibilidades incluyen una credencial de la escuela, una credencial de un club, o simplemente una credencial que muestre o diga algo importante sobre tí). Incluye la información que quieras pero no excedas las proporciones de la tarjeta.
2. Intercambia tu credencial con otro(a) estudiante y permite que tu compañero(a) de clase interprete tu credencial. ¿La interpretación que él (ella) da es lo mismo que tú deseaste expresar? ¿Qué te dice la credencial respecto a la identidad de la persona? ¿De qué manera la información que está en la credencial difiere de lo que ya sabías sobre tus compañeros(as)? ¿Qué información decidiste incluir en tu credencial? ¿Incluiste tu lugar de nacimiento, tu dirección, a los miembros de tu familia? ¿Consideras que estas cosas forman parte de tu identidad? ¿Pueden las credenciales de identificación incluir toda la información acerca de tu identidad?

5. DESIGNING YOUR OWN IDENTITY CARD

1. Design your own identification card. (Possibilities include a school I.D., a club card, or simply a card that shows or tells something important about yourself.) Include any information you would like, but do not exceed the size of a 3" x 5" file card.

2. Exchange cards with someone else in the class, and interpret each other's identity cards. Does his/her reading match what you wanted to express about yourself? What does the card tell you about the person's identity? How does the information on the cards differ from what you already know about your classmate? What did you choose to include in your identity card? Did you include where you were born, where you live now? Did you include other members of your family? Do you consider such facts a part of your identity? Can identification cards include all the information about your identity?



KENNETH EMILIO METZBOWER
Ellicott City, MD 21043

Drivers License Info:
State MARYLAND
ID #
Class C Type N/A
Restrictions N/A Donor NO
Hgt. 6'1" Wgt. 185
DOB 5/29/72 Sex: M
Endorsements N/A
Sp Code N/A

Educational Status:
School UMBC
Major Economics
Grad Date 12/95

Financial Info:
Current Employment: Triple 'A' Student Painters Inc
Annual Income: $30,000
Homeowner: No
Credit Rating Excellent
Charge #
Acct #

Identity cards reveal personal traits students consider important. ● *Las credencials revelan rasjos personales importantes para los estudiantes.* Courtesy/cortesia University of Maryland, Baltimore County

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Sumario de la Introducción
¿QUÉ SIGNIFICA *Identidad y Fronteras*?

Ideas expuestas en esta sección:

- La frontera entre Estados Unidos y México es una región diversa en términos de las personas que viven allí y de su geografía.
- Las fronteras dividen y definen áreas.
- La identidad de una persona es afectada por la forma en que la persona es percibida por otros y por la forma en que se percibe a sí misma.

Al concluir con los ejercicios, recapacita sobre las preguntas que se discutieron en tu clase al principio de esta sección. ¿Han cambiado algunas de las ideas que tú o tus compañeros tenían al principio? ¿De qué manera las fronteras definen quién eres? ¿Dé qué manera las fronteras afectan tu identidad?

¿Qué Viene a Continuación?

En la siguiente sección, **Historia e identidad,** los estudiantes *aprenderán*:

- *cómo la historia y las condiciones actuales han creado una región cultural con características específicas de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México.*
- *cómo ver de manera crítica la primera parte del video.*
- *cómo usar el mapa cultural para explorar la frontera cultural.*

Summary of Introduction
WHAT DOES *Borders and Identity* MEAN?

Ideas in this section:

- The U.S.-Mexico border is a diverse region, in terms of people and geography.
- Borders divide and define areas.
- A person's identity is affected by how people perceive him/her as well as how he/she thinks about him/herself.

Following these exercises, think back to the questions you discussed at the opening of the section. How have your ideas and those of your students changed? How do borders define who you are? How do borders affect your identity?

What's Next?

In the next section, on **History and Identity**, students will learn:

- *how history and present-day circumstances have created the distinct cultural region of the U.S.-Mexico border.*
- *to critically view the first section of the videotape.*
- *how to use the cultural map to explore border culture in its many forms.*

Part 1:

HISTORY AND IDENTITY

Parte 1:

HISTORIA E IDENTIDAD

INTRODUCCIÓN *para el* MAESTRO

En la actualidad las circunstancias históricas que condujeron a la formación de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México todavía son importantes. La historia es parte de lo que hace a esta región tan específica culturalmente. En esta sección los estudiantes verán un video de 15 minutos de duración que habla sobre la cultura en la frontera como se representó en el Festival de las Culturas Populares del Smithsonian en 1993. El video presenta a varias personas que participaron en el Festival. Este video también incluye un pasaje breve de los hechos históricos que ayudaron a crear la frontera. Una lectura complementaria proporciona información adicional al respecto. El mapa cultural también contiene ejercicios para los estudiantes.

En los últimos años la cultura en la frontera ha sido el tema de varios artículos y libros. Muchos de estos escritos sugieren que la interacción social y cultural que se presenta cada vez más en nuestras ciudades multiculturales es aún mayor en la región fronteriza. Si este tema le interesa, consulte algunos de los trabajos citados en el Apéndice.

El primer ejercicio es ver el video y exige que los estudiantes lo miren de manera crítica. Es posible que los estudiantes necesiten ver el video más de una vez para hacer su crítica. El segundo ejercicio pide a los estudiantes que elijan una cita del video y que escriban un ensayo sobre la misma.

El mapa cultural tiene varios usos diferentes. Los ejercicios que se recomiendan ponen énfasis en la historia, la gente y la cultura en la frontera. Note que el mapa contiene información en ambos lados.

Al concluir esta sección los estudiantes habrán:

- *aprendido algunos hechos importantes de la historia de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México.*
- *visto la primera parte del video.*
- *usado el mapa cultural para obtener información geográfica, histórica y cultural adicional.*

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

The historical circumstances that led to the formation of the U.S.-Mexico border remain important today. This history is part of what makes the region so culturally distinctive. In the following section, students will view a 15-minute introductory video about border culture as it was presented at the Smithsonian's 1993 Festival of American Folklife. The video features many of the people who participated in the Festival. The video also includes a brief sketch of the historical events that helped create the border. A supplementary reading provides additional information. The cultural map also provides exercises for students.

In recent years, border culture has been the subject of a growing number of articles and books. Many of these writings suggest that the kinds of social and cultural interactions that take place in our increasingly multicultural cities are intensified in border regions. If you are interested in this topic, you may wish to consult some of the works listed in the Appendix.

The first exercise related to the video asks students to watch the video with a critical eye. Students may need to view the video more than once in order to complete their critique. The second exercise asks students to choose a quotation from the video and write an essay about it.

The cultural map has many different uses. The suggested exercises emphasize history, people, and border culture. Please note the information on the back of the poster as well as on the front.

By the end of this section, students will:

- *learn some basic facts about the history of the U.S.-Mexico border.*
- *view the first section of the video.*
- *use the cultural map for additional geographical, historical, and cultural information.*

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Discusión de la cita

Estás a punto de ver el video sobre la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México. La cita siguiente de Jim Griffith, un residente de la frontera, ofrece una perspectiva de la historia de esta región:

> *Esta región cultural, abarca los dos lados de la frontera internacional. La razón es que la frontera se sobrepuso a la región. La frontera no siempre ha existido. Una frontera no es algo natural como el Gran Cañón, sino una línea artificial que primero se dibuja en el mapa y después en la tierra.*
>
> Jim Griffith, folklorista, Tucson, Arizona

¿Cuál es la diferencia entre una región definida por dos gobiernos y una región definida por culturas? ¿Qué quiere decir Jim Griffith cuando afirma que la región cultural se localiza a ambos lados de la frontera internacional?

¿Qué quiere decir Jim Griffith con "la frontera no siempre ha existido"? ¿Qué crees que hubo antes de que los gobiernos definieran la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México?

Proyección del video

Observa la Parte I, **Historia e identidad** del video y discute lo siguiente:

- ¿Qué es lo que hace a la frontera diferente de otras áreas?
- ¿De qué manera el vivir en la frontera afecta a sus residentes?
- ¿Cuáles son algunos ejemplos de "cultura en la frontera"?

Discussion Quotation

You are about to watch a video about the U.S.-Mexico border. The following quotation from Jim Griffith, a border resident, offers some perspective on the history of this region.

> *This cultural region stretches on both sides of the international border. The reason, of course, is that the border came into the country. There wasn't always a border. A border isn't something like the Grand Canyon. A border is an artificial line that gets drawn on a map, and later gets marked on the ground.*
>
> Jim Griffith, folklorist, Tucson, Arizona

What is the difference between a region defined by two governments and a region defined by cultures? What does Jim Griffith mean when he says that a cultural region stretches over two sides of an international border?

Think about Jim Griffith's statement, "There wasn't always a border." What do you think was there before the border between Mexico and the United States was defined by the two governments?

Video Viewing

Watch **History and Identity,** Part 1 of the video. Discuss the following:

- What makes a border area different from other areas?
- How does living on the border affect its residents?
- What are some examples of "border culture"?

EJERCICIOS

1. CRÍTICA DEL VIDEO

Observa el video otra vez con mucho cuidado. ¿Te convenció de que existe una cultura en la frontera? ¿Por qué sí o por qué no? Luego de observar el video, ¿sobre qué persona te gustaría saber más y por qué? Escribe un párrafo en el que expliques por qué te sientes atraído hacia la historia de esa persona.

La danza pascola es una de las danzas sagradas de los tohono o'odham. • The Pascola dance is one of the sacred dances of the Tohono O'odham. Foto del/photo by Rick Vargas, cortesia/courtesy Smithsonian Institution

2. ELIGE UNA CITA

Elige uno de los tres pasajes de la transcripción del video que encontrarás a continuación. Escribe un artículo de una página en el que expliques el significado de este pasaje.

A) Blaine Juan: *Me llamo Blaine Juan. Soy de un pueblo llamado Woog I-Huduñk, conocido por los blancos como San Simón. Este es un lugar de la nación tohono o'odham que está localizado a 168 kilómetros al oeste de Tucson, cerca de la frontera mexicana.*

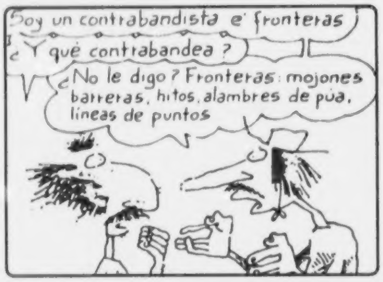
Jim Griffith: *¿Te podría preguntar algo tonto? ¿Por qué se establecieron tan cerca de la frontera?*

Blaine Juan: *Te respondería que fueron los blancos los que pusieron la frontera ahí.*

B) Enrique Lamadrid: *La inmigración para nosotros, como hispanos del suroeste de Estados Unidos, es una contradicción, porque desde nuestra perspectiva los verdaderos inmigrantes son los angloamericanos, que llegaron durante la guerra entre Estados Unidos y México. Nos dijeron que desde ese momento éramos americanos, que la línea dividía nuestras comunidades y que ahora nos llamamos migrantes. Con la excepción de nuestros vecinos nativos, Estados Unidos es un país de migrantes; todos lo somos.*

C) Jim Griffith: *Cuando se estableció la frontera, el territorio ocupado por mexicanos y grupos indígenas quedó — de pronto — dividido en dos. Se cortó a la mitad nuestra región cultural.*

Arturo Carrillo Strong: *Muchos ciudadanos mexicanos que habían estado viviendo allí por muchos años de repente se convirtieron en ciudadanos americanos. Unos se quedaron y muchos otros regresaron a México.*


Soy un contrabandista e' fronteras
¿Y qué contrabandea?
¿No le digo? Fronteras: mojones barreras, hitos, alambres de púa, líneas de puntos

"I'm a border smuggler. / What do you smuggle? / Borders: fences, barbed wire, etc." Historieta de Fontanarrosa en **Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad** ***de Néstor García Canclini. • Cartoon by Fontanarrosa in*** **Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad** ***by Néstor García Canclini.*** Cortesía/courtesy Editorial Grijalbo

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EXERCISES

1. VIDEO CRITIQUE

Watch the video again, this time very carefully. Did the video convince you that there is such a thing as border culture? Why, or why not? After watching the video, whom do you want to know more about? Which individual was most memorable? Why? Write a paragraph explaining what draws you to this person's story.

A woman passes through the turnstiles at a border crossing point in the 1950s. • Una mujer cruza la frontera en los años 1950.

Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Library of Congress

2. CHOOSE A QUOTATION

Choose one of the following passages from the video script. Write a one-page essay about what this excerpt means.

A) **Blaine Juan:** *My name is Blaine Juan, and I'm from a village called Wo:g I-Huduñk (Woog E Hudungk). Now, for the white people, it's the San Simon village. It's the Tohono O'odham Nation and where I live is about 105 miles west of Tucson, which is the main Tohono O'odham reservation, and we live by the Mexican border.*

Jim Griffith: *I suppose I could ask you a silly question. I could say, how come you settled so close to the border?*

Blaine Juan: *I guess the way I probably would answer that is it's the white people who put the border there.*

B) **Enrique Lamadrid:** *Immigration is a contradiction to us as Hispanics in the Southwest, because from our perspective the original immigrants are Anglo. Anglo-America came in and conquered us, in the Mexican-American War, and said, "Guess what, now you are Americans, and guess what, here is a new line that we are using to divide your communities, and guess what, now we are going to call you the migrants." And so, in the United States, we are a country of migrants, all of us are migrants except our Native American neighbors.*

C) **Jim Griffith:** *When the border came through there were people, Mexican and Native American people, already living in that country, and the border came — whop — right down the middle, and it split our cultural region in half.*

Arturo Carrillo Strong: *A lot of the people that were Mexican citizens, and living in their homes that they had lived in for many years, all of a sudden became American citizens. Some wanted to stay, and a lot of them went back to Mexico.*

Mapa Cultural

El mapa cultural tamaño póster incluye información sobre la historia, geografía, gente y símbolos comunes en la región fronteriza. Usa esta información y tu propia investigación para explorar los siguientes temas:

EJERCICIOS

1. HISTORIA: INVESTIGACIÓN DE NUESTRO PASADO

Lee las fechas clave del póster.

- ¿Hace cuántos años que los indígenas se establecieron en la región de la frontera? ¿Cuándo los primeros pobladores se establecieron en tu área? **Pista:** Una investigación en la biblioteca te puede ayudar: busca libros o folletos sobre la historia regional; frecuentemente estos incluyen una sección sobre los grupos indígenas que fueron los primeros habitantes de la región.
- ¿Quiénes son algunos de los inmigrantes más recientes en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México? ¿Qué fue lo que los atrajo hacia la región? ¿Quiénes acaban de llegar a tu área? ¿De dónde vienen? ¿Por qué vinieron a tu área?
- De las Fechas Clave elige un evento que te interese. Investiga el evento para saber por qué fue importante para la cultura en la frontera. Si eres de otra parte del país, investiga sobre algún evento que ocurrió en tu área en la misma época.

Ofelia Santos López es una vendedora mixteca que vive en Tijuana. • Ofelia Santos López is a Mixteca vendor living in Tijuana, Baja California. Foto de/photo by Olivia Cadaval

2. LA GENTE DE LA FRONTERA

Lee los pequeños textos que acompañan las fotografías del mapa cultural. Como puedes ver, los residentes de la frontera han venido a ésta por muchas razones diferentes.

- Recuerda la historia de Ofelia Santos López. Puedes encontrar a Ofelia en el mapa cultural y en la Parte I del video. Si necesitas refrescarte la memoria, lee la siguiente transcripción del video:

Yo soy de Oaxaca, pero vivo en Baja California. Yo salí de Oaxaca, tiene como, tenía como diez y ocho años cuando salí Oaxaca. De mi tierra me vine para Culiacán, Sinaloa a trabajar tomate. Aquí estuve

Cultural Map

The poster-sized cultural map includes information about the history, geography, peoples, and common symbols of the border region. Use this information and your own research to explore the following:

EXERCISES

I. HISTORY: INVESTIGATING OUR PAST

Read the Key Dates section of the poster.

- How many years ago did indigenous people settle in the border region? When did the first people settle in your area? **Clue:** Library research might help: look for local history books or pamphlets. Often they include a section on indigenous people, who were the first known inhabitants of the region.
- Who are some of the most recent migrants to the U.S-Mexico border? What drew them to the border region? Who are the most recent arrivals to make a home in your area? Where did they come from? Why did they choose to come to your area?
- Pick an event from the Key Dates that interests you. Research the event to find out why it was important to border culture. If you are from another part of the country, research an event that happened around the same date in your area.

2. THE PEOPLE OF THE BORDER

Read the short texts that accompany the photographs on the cultural map. As you will see, people have come to the border for many different reasons.

- Remember Ofelia Santos López's story of coming to the border. Ofelia can be found on the cultural map, as well as in Part I of the video. If you need to refresh your memory, read the following transcription from the video:

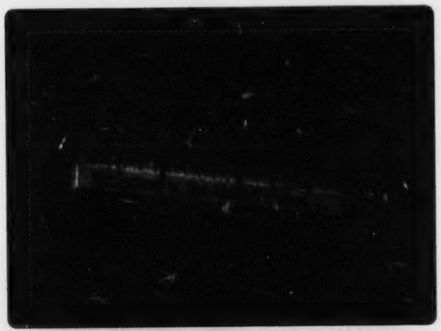
  I'm from Oaxaca, but I live in Baja California. I left Oaxaca when I was about 18 years old to go to Culiacán, Sinaloa, to pick tomatoes. I had two children; when I had a third child, I went to pick cotton.

> *trabajando de dos hijos; de tres hijos me fui al algodón, a pizcar algodón. Mi vida fue muy triste, mi vida es muy, mi cuerpo es muy trabajadora, muy trabajar en campo. Llegué aquí, a Sinaloa, allí cayó un dinero y allí me vine para Baja California.*

Julius Collins, un pescador cajun de camarón, también contó su historia en el Festival de las Culturas Populares:

> *Mi huida hacia la frontera se produjo durante la guerra con Corea en la cual participé. Esto fue cuando la industria camaronera en Louisiana se desplomó. Nuevos caminos se abrían en Nuevo México y en Texas. Gente emprendedora se aventuró en aquella parte del mundo y yo fui una de ellas. Fui a Brownsville, Texas en 1952, poco después de salir de la guerra. Descubrí que la frontera era muy parecida a Louisiana. La gente hablaba un idioma extranjero. No me comprendían, pero eso era parte del juego. Me di cuenta que ellos habían crecido de la misma manera que yo. Su primer idioma era español y el mío francés. Había tenido que batallar toda mi vida para tratar de conseguir algo y ellos estaban haciendo lo mismo.*

- ¿De qué manera la experiencia de Ofelia difiere de la experiencia de Julius? ¿En que son similares?



La frontera entre Nogales, Arizona y Nogales, Sonora. ● The border between Nogales, Arizona, and Nogales, Sonora. Foto del photo by Olivia Cadaval

Cruzando la frontera entre Nogales, Arizona y Nogales, Sonora. ● Crossing the border at Nogales, Arizona, and Nogales, Sonora. Foto del photo by Lyle Rosbotham

3. IMÁGENES DE LA FRONTERA: INTERPRETACIÓN DE FOTOGRAFÍAS

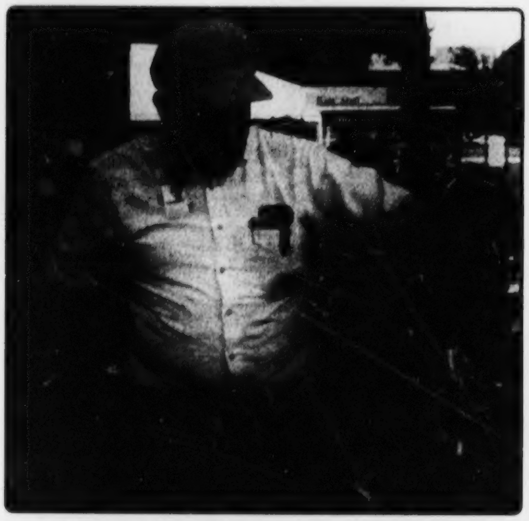
Observa con atención las fotografías al pie de las páginas 48 y 49. Selecciona una de las fotografías. Escribe un párrafo en el que describas qué te dice la fotografía sobre la vida en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México. Algunas preguntas a considerar son:

- ¿Qué atrae a las personas a la frontera como un lugar para vivir o visitar?
- Si trataras de representar las fronteras en tu barrio ¿de qué tomarías una foto?

> *My life was very sad. I worked hard in the fields. When I made some money in Sinaloa, I came to Baja California.*

Julius Collins, a Cajun shrimper, told his story at the Festival of American Folklife as well:

> *My flight to the border came during the Korean War, in which I served. That's when the shrimping industry in Louisiana waters was going down. New grounds opened in New Mexico and Texas. Ambitious people ventured to that part of the world, and I happened to be one of them. I went to Brownsville, Texas, in 1952, right after I got out of the war. I found that the border was very similar to Louisiana. People spoke a foreign language. They didn't understand me, but that was part of the game. I saw that they were raised as I was. Their first language was Spanish, mine was French. I had to battle all my life to try and achieve something, and they were doing the same thing.*



Julius Collins, a Cajun shrimper, grew up in Louisiana but lives in Brownsville, Texas. ● Julius Collins, un camaronero cajún, creció en Louisiana pero ahora vive en Brownsville, Texas.

Foto de/photo by Rick Vargas, cortesía/courtesy Smithsonian Institution

- How does Ofelia's experience differ from that of Julius? How are the two stories similar?

3. IMAGES OF THE BORDER: INTERPRETING PHOTOGRAPHS

Look closely at the four photographs on the bottom of pages 48 and 49. Choose one, and write a paragraph describing what this photograph tells you about life on the U.S.-Mexico border. Possible questions to consider:

- What attracts people to the border as a place to live or to visit?
- If you were trying to represent the borders in your own neighborhood, what would you photograph?

Crossing the border between Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, and El Paso, Texas. ● Cruzando la frontera entre Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua y El Paso Texas.

Photo by/foto de Lyle Rosbotham

The bridge across the Rio Grande between Laredo, Texas, and Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas. ● El puente sobre el río Bravo entre Laredo, Texas y Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas.

Photo by/ foto de Luis Barrera López

LECTURA

HISTORIA DE LA FRONTERA

DE OLIVIA CADAVAL

Con la firma del Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo en 1848, poco después de concluida la guerra entre Estados Unidos y México (1846–48) y con el Tratado de la Mesilla en 1853, se estableció la frontera entre los dos países. Pero antes de que hubiera una frontera, algunas comunidades indígenas se habían establecido en el área que se extiende desde el Golfo de México hasta el Océano Pacífico. En el siglo XVII los colonos españoles reclamaron esta misma área como la frontera norte de la Nueva España. En el período colonial español, el área atrajo a exploradores y a misioneros. En la costa del Golfo, algunas familias judías de la región central de México buscaron refugio debido a la represión religiosa del siglo XVIII y establecieron negocios en Matamoros y en el valle de Texas. Su presencia ayudó a desarrollar el área como una región comercial. Después de la guerra de Independencia de México en 1810, llegaron a la región nuevos colonos del norte y del sur.

El río Bravo, o río Grande, como se le llama en Estados Unidos, marca casi la mitad de la longitud de la frontera. El Paso del Norte, ahora conocido como El Paso, fue el primer y más grande poblado que se estableció en las márgenes del río. Se estableció a principios de 1600 y su nombre viene del corredor en las montañas que forman "el paso del norte." En la actualidad aún se pueden encontrar en el valle de Texas muchos pueblos pequeños establecidos antes de que se creara la frontera. En las décadas después de la guerra entre Estados Unidos y México muchos ganaderos y comerciantes de tierras agrícolas procedentes del este y del oeste medio de Estados Unidos dominaban el comercio entre Estados Unidos y México en ambos lados de este río fronterizo entre Texas y los estados mexicanos de Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, Coahuila y Chihuahua. Estos comerciantes adquirieron muchas extensiones de tierra en Texas y desplazaron a los ganaderos mexicanos. Muchos de los nuevos colonos del este de Estados Unidos que tenían acceso a capital y gozaban de derechos de tierra y condiciones políticas favorables, se hicieron más poderosos que los antiguos colonos españoles y mexicanos. Esta situación creó una atmósfera de conflicto cultural y económico que aún hoy día caracteriza a la frontera.

Además de las comunidades ya mencionadas, la frontera atrajo a mucha otra gente. La constante migración continuó modificando la vida en la región. A finales del siglo XIX, el gobierno mexicano, preocupado por el expansionismo de los Estados Unidos trató de fomentar la colonización en la región de la frontera. Como consecuencia hubo una gran inmigración de grupos tan diversos como chinos, menonitas, rusos molokanos, mascogos (conocidos como seminoles negros en los Estados Unidos) e indígenas kickapú en la parte oeste de la región de la frontera. Los indígenas kickapú y los seminoles negros fueron aceptados con la condición de

READING BORDER HISTORY

BY OLIVIA CADAVAL

The signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty in 1848 at the end of the United States-Mexico War (1846-48) and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853 fixed the location of the U.S.-Mexico border. But long before there was a border, Indian communities had settlements in this area, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. In the 17th century, Spanish settlers claimed the same area as the northern frontier of New Spain. In the Spanish colonial period, this area attracted explorers and missionaries. On the Gulf Coast, Jewish families from central Mexico sought refuge from religious persecution in the 18th century and established businesses in Matamoros and in the Texas Valley. Their presence helped develop the area into a commercial region. After the Mexican War of Independence in 1810, new settlers from the north and south continued to come to the region.

The Rio Grande, or Río Bravo, as it is called in Mexico, makes up over half of the length of the border. El Paso del Norte, now known as El Paso, was the first and largest settlement built on the river. It was built in the early 1600s and named for the mountain corridor *"el paso del norte"* (the passage to the north). Many small towns established before the creation of the border still dot the Texas Valley. In the decades following the U.S.-Mexico War, wealthy cattle barons and agricultural land merchants from the East and the Midwest of the U.S. succeeded in dominating the U.S.-Mexico trade across this border river between Texas and the Mexican states of Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Chihuahua. These merchants acquired extensive tracts of land in Texas and displaced local Mexican ranchers. The new arrivals from the East, who had access to capital and enjoyed more favorable political conditions, often became more powerful than the earlier Spanish and Mexican settlers. This created an environment of cultural and economic conflict that characterizes the border to this day.

In addition to these early communities, the border has attracted many others. These successive arrivals continue to change life in the region. In the latter part of the 19th century, a Mexican government concerned by U.S. expansionism encouraged settlement in the border region. This led to migration to the western region of the border by groups as diverse as Chinese, Mennonites, Molokan Russians, Black Seminoles (known as Mascogos in Mexico), and Kickapoo Indians. Black Seminoles and Kickapoo were welcomed on the condition that they defend the territory against the Apache and Comanche raids.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Chinese managers and laborers established residence in the towns of Mexicali and Calexico. The damming of the Colorado River converted the area, now called the Imperial Valley, into fertile agricultural land. Anglo landowners leased the land to Chinese businessmen from California, who smuggled agricultural laborers into Mexico from China.

During the Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910, the border population increased significantly, as many Mexicans

Esta fotografía muestra como la frontera materialmente partió las comunidades en dos, como en el caso de Nogales. ● ***This photograph shows how the creation of the border literally divided a community, like Nogales, down the middle.***

Foto cortesía/photo courtesy Library of Congress

que defenderían el territorio contra las invasiones de los comanches y los apaches.

A principios del siglo XX, administradores y trabajadores chinos se establecieron en los pueblos de Mexicali y Calexico. La presa construida en el río Colorado transformó el área hoy conocida con el nombre de el Valle Imperial en una tierra agrícola fértil. Los terratenientes angloamericanos arrendaron la tierra a hombres de negocios chinos procedentes de California quienes ilegalmente trajeron trabajadores chinos a México.

Durante la Revolución Mexicana, que comenzó en 1910, la población de la frontera creció significantemente porque muchos mexicanos se desplazaron a lo largo de la frontera buscando refugio, algunos temporalmente, otros, permanentemente. Otros sólo inmigraron a la frontera sin cruzarla. Los patrones de migración revelan una relación entre estados particulares de México con regiones o poblados de la frontera. A los refugiados de la parte central de México que se establecieron en el valle de Texas pronto se les unieron otros inmigrantes de su misma región de origen.

Cuando la crisis económica afectó a los Estados Unidos se llevaron a cabo campañas para sacar a los ciudadanos de descendencia mexicana y para regresar a los inmigrantes a México. De 1914 a 1915 en el lado de Estados Unidos del valle del río Bravo hubo mucha violencia y cientos de mexicanos fueron perseguidos y asesinados por la patrulla fronteriza. La Gran Depresión de la década de 1930 trajo una nueva ola de deportaciones en la que muchos ciudadanos de origen mexicano e inmigrantes que habían vivido tranquilamente en los Estados Unidos fueron deportados a México.

La Segunda Guerra Mundial cambió una vez más el flujo de la inmigración. El Programa de Braceros de 1942-1964, negociado entre Estados Unidos y México como una medida de emergencia durante la guerra, atrajo grandes migraciones de trabajadores mexicanos a Estados Unidos. Bajo estos términos las empresas agrícolas estadounidenses contrataron a trabajadores del otro lado de la frontera para trabajar temporalmente en sus tierras. Al término de la temporada agrícola muchos trabajadores

Los trabajadores chinos formaban la mayor parte de la fuerza agrícola en el Valle Imperial de California en el los primeros años del siglo XX. ● ***Chinese laborers made up much of the agricultural work force in the early 20th century in the Imperial Valley in California.*** Foto cortesía/photo courtesy Library of Congress

This photograph, circa 1915, shows the Rio Grande, which marks the border between Mexico and Texas. • En esta foto, circa 1915, se ve el río Bravo, la linea divisora de la frontera entre México y el estado de Texas. Photo courtesy/foto cortesia Library of Congress

moved across the border seeking refuge, some temporarily, others permanently. Others simply migrated to the border without crossing. Migration patterns reveal links between particular states in Mexico and particular regions or towns on the border. Refugees from central Mexico who settled in the Texas Valley were likely to be joined later by other immigrants from their home towns.

When economic hard times hit the United States, efforts were mounted to push citizens of Mexican descent and immigrants back to Mexico. In 1914-15, the U.S. side of the Rio Grande Valley experienced a winter of violence when hundreds of Mexicans, or "*mejicanos*" in border usage, were persecuted and killed by the Texas Border Patrol. The Great Depression of the 1930s brought a new wave of deportations in which many citizens of Mexican origin and immigrants who had lived for decades undisturbed in the United States were sent back to Mexico.

World War II changed the immigration flow once more. The Bracero Program of 1942-64, first negotiated by the United States and Mexico as an emergency measure during the war, encouraged large migrations of Mexican workers to the United States. Under its terms, U.S. agricultural employers brought Mexican contract laborers across the border for seasonal work. In the off-season some workers returned to their home communities, while others stayed on the border, often in a region where people from their home state had already settled.

Like European and Asian immigrants, Mexicans continue to seek economic opportunities in the border region. Workers have been attracted to the border by the 1961-65 Mexican National Border Economic Development Program, followed in 1965 by the Industrialization Program of the border, which introduced the *maquiladora* assembly plants to the region.

From the 1980s onward, economic and political refugees from Central America have swelled populations at the border. Individuals, groups, and corporations throughout the world continue to be attracted to the border. These companies often destroy the environment and exploit people. The 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement became the latest in a long line of international economic arrangements that have had wide-ranging local impact.

The border today is the result of the histories of the people who settled there over the years: the things they brought with them and the things they built, destroyed, rebuilt, and continue to build. History is very much alive on the border in the physical landscape and in the memories and daily experiences of the people who live there.

For additional reading, consult the bibliography in the Appendix.

volvieron a sus comunidades pero otros decidieron no regresar a México sino quedarse en la frontera, frecuentemente en regiones donde otras personas de su lugar de origen se habían establecido.

Al igual que los inmigrantes europeos y asiáticos, los mexicanos continuaron buscando mejores oportunidades económicas en la región fronteriza. Los trabajadores fueron atraídos hacia la frontera por el Programa de Desarrollo Económico de la Frontera Nacional Mexicana de 1961-1965, y por el Programa de Industrialización de la Frontera de 1965, que introdujo las plantas de ensamblaje o maquiladoras en la región.

A partir de 1980 refugiados políticos y económicos de Centro América han acrecentado la población de la frontera. Individuos, grupos y corporaciones del mundo entero llegan a la frontera. Estas compañías muchas veces destruyen el medio ambiente y explotan a los trabajadores. El Tratado de Libre Comercio de 1994 es el más reciente acuerdo internacional que tiene un gran impacto local. La frontera actual es el resultado de la historia de la gente que la ha poblado a lo largo de los años, de las cosas que trajeron con ellos, de las que construyeron, destruyeron, reconstruyeron y continúan construyendo. La historia continua viva en la frontera en el paisaje, las memorias y la experiencia diaria de la gente que vive allí.

Para encontrar lecturas complementarias, consulta la bibliografía contenida en el Apéndice.

PREGUNTAS

1. Menciona algunos de los grupos que se establecieron en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México. ¿Cuáles fueron las razones que los llevaron a vivir en la frontera?
2. ¿Por qué la frontera sigue siendo un imán de oportunidad económica?
3. ¿Qué significa la palabra "indígena"? ¿Quiénes fueron los indígenas de la frontera? ¿Por qué los indígenas de otras partes de México se fueron a vivir a la frontera? Compara sus experiencias con los movimientos migratorios a la región de grupos indígenas de los Estados Unidos. ¿Qué similaridades y diferencias encuentras?

EJERCICIOS

1. Busca ejemplos de la historia en tu comunidad. ¿Puedes localizar edificios antiguos, murales que reproduzcan los hechos históricos, estatuas de héroes de guerra, vías de tren abandonadas? Elige uno de estos monumentos históricos e investiga y descubre la historia de éste. Tómale una foto o haz un dibujo y escribe un párrafo sobre su historia. Intercambia la información con tus compañeros de clase.
2. Selecciona un evento histórico en tu comunidad y entrevista a diferentes personas sobre su impresión acerca de este evento. Si vives en la frontera puedes elegir uno de los eventos que discutimos en la lectura o que mencionamos en las Fechas Clave. Si no vives en la frontera elige un evento de importancia local o nacional (cualquier cosa, desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial, hasta las elecciones más recientes). ¿Existen canciones, historias o chistes sobre este evento histórico? Reúne algunas de las impresiones al respecto y escribe un artículo. ¿Notaste algunas discrepancias sobre la historia de este evento entre las personas que entrevistaste?

This photograph shows how the creation of the border physically divided a community, like Nogales, down the middle. • Esta fotografía muestra como la creación de la frontera dividió físicamente la comunidad, como Nogales, por la mitad. *Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Library of Congress*

QUESTIONS

1. Name some of the groups of people who settled in the U.S.-Mexico border region. What were their reasons for coming to live in the border region?

2. Why has the border remained a magnet for economic opportunity?

3. What does the word "indigenous" mean? Who were the indigenous people on the border? Why did indigenous peoples from other parts of Mexico move from their homelands to the border? How do their experiences compare to the migration to the border of indigenous peoples in the United States?

EXERCISES

1. Look for examples of history in the physical landscape of your community. Can you find older buildings? Murals portraying historic events? Statues of war heroes? Abandoned railroad tracks? Pick a feature of the historical landscape, and do some background research to uncover the history of your selection. Take a photo or sketch this feature, and write an explanatory paragraph to share with your classmates.

2. Pick a historical event in your community, and interview people about their impressions of this event. If you live on the border, you might choose one of the events discussed in this reading or listed on the poster's Key Dates. If you do not live on the border, pick an event of national or local significance (anything from World War II to your community's most recent elections). Are there any songs, tales, or jokes about this historical event? Gather some of the impressions, and write an essay about them. Do you notice any conflicting recollections of these events among the people you interview?

Sumario de la Parte 1
HISTORIA *e* IDENTIDAD

Ideas expuestas en esta sección:

- La cultura en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México ha sido moldeada por los eventos históricos y por la gente que se ha establecido allí a lo largo de los años.
- La frontera es un lugar dinámico con una constante interacción e intercambio entre gente, bienes y culturas.
- El estudio de los aspectos históricos y geográficos ayuda a comprender mejor las historias y culturas de los actuales residentes de la frontera.

¿Qué Viene a Continuación?

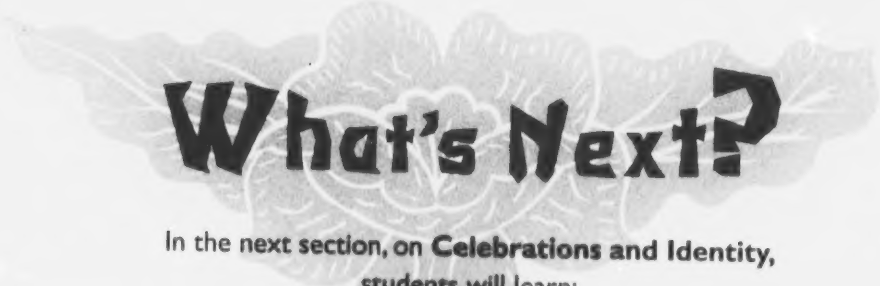
En la siguiente sección, **Celebraciones e identidad,** **los estudiantes** *aprenderán*:

- *cómo varias celebraciones en la frontera ligan a la gente y a las comunidades a ambos lados de la frontera.*
- *cómo el ritual, el arte, la comida y la música forman parte en estas celebraciones.*
- *cómo explorar ceremonias y rituales importantes en sus vidas y planificar su fiesta imaginaria.*
- *por qué la Virgen de Guadalupe es un símbolo importante en la frontera y reflexionarán sobre los símbolos importantes en sus comunidades.*

Summary of Part 1
HISTORY *and* IDENTITY

Ideas in this section:

- The culture of the U.S.-Mexico border has been shaped by historical events and by the people who have settled there over many years.
- The border is a dynamic place, with constant interaction and exchange between people, goods, and cultures.
- Uncovering geographical and historical facts helps students to better understand the stories and cultures of today's border residents.



What's Next?

In the next section, on **Celebrations and Identity,** students will learn:

- *how many celebrations on the **border link** people and communities from both sides.*
- *how ritual, art, food, and music all play a part in these celebrations.*
- *how to investigate shrines and rituals in their own lives, and create their own imaginary fiesta.*
- *why the Virgin of Guadalupe is an important symbol on the border, and think about the symbols that are important in their own communities.*

Part 2:

CELEBRATIONS AND IDENTITY

Parte 2:

CELEBRACIONES E IDENTIDAD

INTRODUCCIÓN *para el* MAESTRO

En esta sección, introducimos a los estudiantes a dos comunidades distintas: los tohono o'odham, en el sur de Arizona y a los mixtecos en Tijuana. Los rituales y eventos (como la danza pascola y la celebración del Día de los Muertos) de estas comunidades ilustran la interdependencia entre la gente a ambos lados de la frontera.

Al mismo tiempo que los estudiantes aprenden sobre las fiestas de las comunidades tohono o'odham y mixteca, explorarán la forma en que las celebraciones y las conmemoraciones de eventos especiales y de héroes locales se llevan a cabo en sus propias comunidades.

La lectura optativa introduce a los estudiantes a la importancia simbólica de la Virgen de Guadalupe en la frontera. La Virgen es más que un símbolo religioso, es un símbolo cultural para los chicanos y para los jóvenes mexicanos y se la ve en playeras, carros *lowriders* y murales en la frontera. Los estudiantes investigarán los símbolos que son importantes en sus propias comunidades.

Ejercicios sugeridos para esta sección:

Altares culturales: Identifique varios "altares" en la escuela para ayudar a sus estudiantes a comprender este concepto. De ser posible visite con su clase algunos "altares" en las escuelas del barrio. Otros altares que pueden visitar son memoriales de la guerra, altares familiares y vitrinas con trofeos.

Rituales: Después de ver los ejemplos en esta sección, explique un ritual en su vida personal.

Prepare una fiesta: Para involucrar a los estudiantes trate de obtener panfletos turísticos sobre las festividades locales.

Al concluir esta sección los estudiantes habrán:

- *aprendido la importancia de las celebraciones tradicionales en ambos lados de la frontera.*
- *explorado los rituales diarios, altares y símbolos que son importantes en sus vidas y comunidades.*

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

In this section, students examine two different communities: the Tohono O'odham in southern Arizona and the Mixtecos in Tijuana. The sacred rituals and events (Pascola dancing, Day of the Dead feasts) of these communities illustrate the interdependence between people on both sides of the border.

As they learn about the fiestas of the Tohono O'odham and the Mixteco communities, students will also explore the ways in which celebrations and commemorations of special events and local heroes take place in their own communities.

The optional reading introduces students to the importance of the symbol of the Virgin of Guadalupe on the border. More than a religious icon, the Virgin has become a cultural symbol for Chicanos and young Mexicans alike, used on T-shirts, lowrider cars, and border murals. Students will explore the symbols that are important in their own communities.

Suggestions to prepare for exercises in this section:

Cultural Shrines: Identify several shrines at your school to help students understand this concept in its broadest meaning. If possible, visit a few local shrines in the school neighborhood as a class. Possibilities include: war memorials, family altars in grocery stores, a trophy case.

Rituals: Be prepared to give students an example of a personal ritual from your own experience, following the examples given.

Plan Your Own Fiesta: If possible, obtain a few brochures from your state tourism office advertising local festivals and events to provide students with ideas for their own projects.

By the end of this section, students will:

- *learn the importance of traditional celebrations on both sides of the border.*
- *explore the everyday rituals, shrines, and symbols that are important in their own lives and communities.*

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Discusión de la cita

Lee la siguiente cita y discute las preguntas que la suceden:

> *Estamos hablando sobre las celebraciones a lo largo de la frontera y en nuestra pequeña parte de la frontera. Estas celebraciones son muy complejas e incorporan varias cosas diferentes. La flores de papel van con la comida, la comida va con la música, la música va con las imágenes de los santos, y todo va con todo abarcando a dos naciones y a muchos artistas que viven en lugares diferentes.*
>
> Jim Griffith, folklorista, Tucson, Arizona

¿Como defines una celebración? ¿Qué tipos de celebraciones forman parte de tu vida? ¿Qué las hace complejas? **Pista:** los distintos tipos de personas que participan, los elementos diferentes que forman parte del evento tales como la comida, las decoraciones, los trajes, etcétera.

La elaboración de flores de papel es una de las muchas artesanías que Gloria Moroyoqui hace en su casa en Nogales, Sonora. • Paper flowers are just one of the many items Gloria Moroyoqui makes in her home in Nogales, Sonora. Foto del/photo by Mary Lou Gortárez

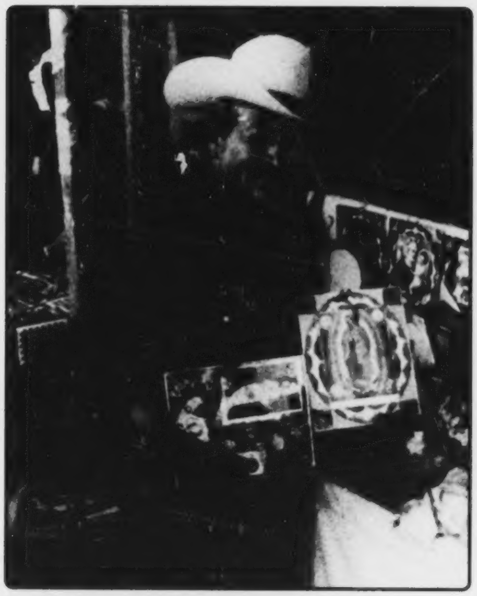
Juvencio Extrada Maceda elabora velas para un altar mixteco para el Día de los Muertos. • Juvencio Extrada Maceda makes candles for the Mixteco Day of the Dead altar. Foto del/photo by Rick Vargas, cortesia/courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Discussion Quotation

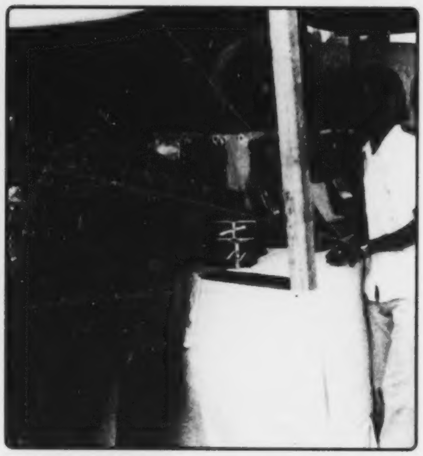
Read the following quotation, and discuss the questions that follow:

> *We're talking about celebrations along the border and our little tiny part of the border. These celebrations are so complex, and they involve all these different things. The paper flowers fit into the food, the food fits into the music, the music fits into the pictures of the saints; it all sort of goes together into a complex whole, and it involves two nations and lots of different artists living in different places.*
>
> Jim Griffith, folklorist, Tucson, Arizona

How do you define a celebration? What kinds of celebrations are part of your life? What makes them complex? **Clue:** the different people involved, the different elements that are part of the event, such as food, decorations, clothes worn, etc.



Jesús León passed his skill and knowledge of frame making to his son Anastasio León, who maintains the family tradition today. • Jesús León transmitió su habilidad y sus conocimientos artesanales a su hijo Anastasio León que mantiene hoy en día la tradición familiar. Photo by/foto de Jim Griffith



Members of the Tohono O'odham Indian community in Arizona purchase picture frames in Magdalena, Sonora. • Miembros de la comunidad indígena tohono o'odham en Arizona compran en Magdalena, Sonora, los marcos para sus imágenes. Photo by/foto de Jim Griffith

Proyección del video

Observa la Parte 2, **Celebraciones e identidad** del video y discute lo siguiente:

- ¿Festeja tu familia o tu comunidad una celebración que se asemeje de alguna manera a las fiestas de los tohono o'odham o a la celebración del Día de los Muertos de los mixtecos? **Pista:** ¿Vienen amigos o parientes de lejos a celebrar contigo? ¿Baila o canta la gente? ¿Se decora? ¿Se preparan platillos especiales?

EJERCICIOS

1. ANUNCIO PARA UNA CELEBRACIÓN

Lee la información sobre celebraciones atrás del mapa cultural. Jim Griffith explica cómo se anuncian las fiestas en la Nación Tohono O'odham en el sur de Arizona:

> *Estos son un mundo y una cultura en los que las celebraciones se anuncian por radio. El radio se escucha en toda la reserva tohono o'odham. Cada domingo hay un programa en el idioma nativo en el que se anuncian las fiestas. Así que, si uno escucha el radio, sabe que está invitado y va. No recibe uno una tarjeta que dice, "Vamos a tener una fiesta, te invitamos para que vengas." Uno oye por radio que en San Simón va a haber una celebración y si tiene amigos o familia en San Simón, ¿por qué no ir y verlos?*

Escribe un pequeño anuncio de radio invitando a la gente a la fiesta de los tohono o'odham, a la celebración mixteca del Día de los Muertos o a otra celebración de tu antojo. Acuérdate de explicar qué se celebra y por qué es importante la celebración para la comunidad. Men-

Video Viewing

Watch **Celebrations and Identity,** Part 2 of the video. Discuss the following:

- Is there a celebration in your own family or community that is similar in some ways to the Tohono O'odham feast or the Mixteco Day of the Dead? **Clue:** Do friends and family come from far away to celebrate with you? Do people sing or dance? Do you hang decorations? Do you prepare and eat special foods?

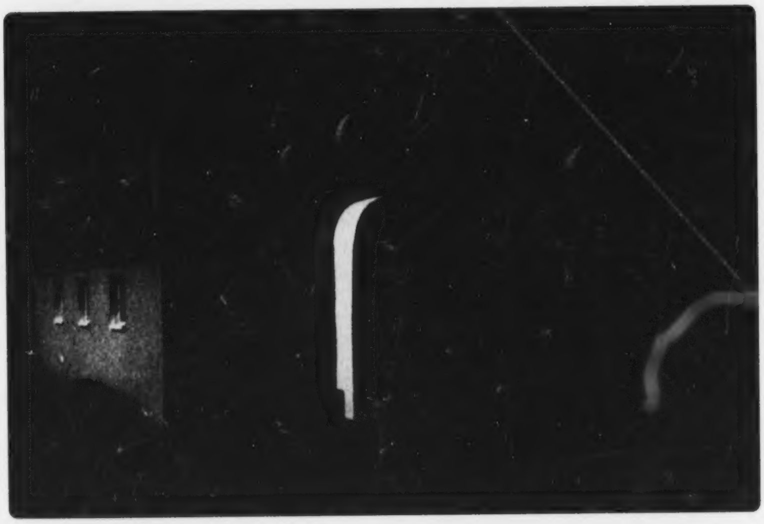
EXERCISES

1. CELEBRATION ANNOUNCEMENT

Read the information about celebrations on the back of the cultural map. Jim Griffith explains how fiestas are publicized in the Tohono O'odham Nation of southern Arizona:

> *This is a culture and this is a world where these celebrations are announced on the radio. The radio goes out over the whole reservation in O'odham. Every Sunday there's a radio program in the native language of this reservation, and the parties are announced then. So if you can hear the radio, you know you're invited, and you go. You don't get a card saying, "We're having a party, please come." You hear on the radio that San Simon Village is having a feast, and if you have friends or family — relations in San Simon, why you'll go and see them.*

Write a short radio announcement inviting people to the Tohono O'odham feast, the Mixteco Day of the Dead celebration, or another celebration of your choosing. Be sure to mention the important details: time, activities such as music and dancing, and foods that will



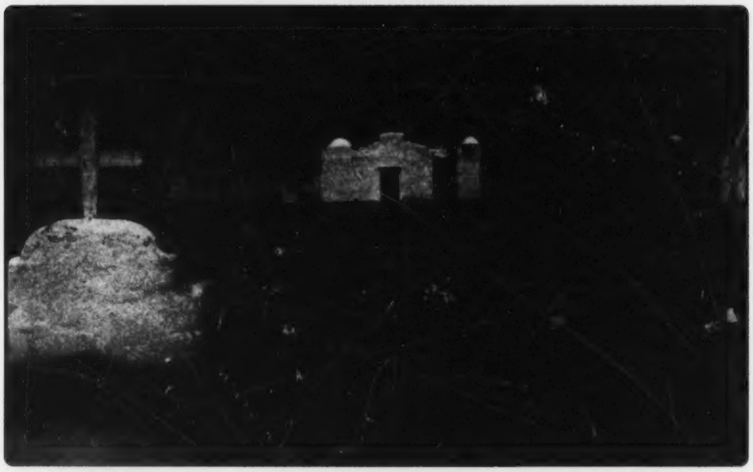
La Capilla de San Francisco se construyó en la nación tohono o'odham cuando comenzó a ser cada vez más difícil cruzar la frontera para ir a la Fiesta de San Francisco en Magdalena, Sonora. • The San Francisco Chapel was built in the Tohono O'odham Nation in southern Arizona when it became increasingly difficult to cross the border to attend the Feast of San Francisco in Magdalena, Sonora. *Foto del photo by Jim Griffith*

ciona detalles importantes: la hora, actividades como la música y el baile, y las comidas que se servirán. Acuérdate de explicar qué se celebra y por qué es importante la celebración para la comunidad. Podrías mencionar algo especial como la elaboración de velas de los mixtecos, o los capullos de polilla que se usan en la danza pascola de los tohono o'odham. Presenta tu anuncio a la clase. Pregúntales si se te olvidó incluir alguna información.

2. ALTARES DE TODOS LOS DÍAS

Siempre que una persona quiere conmemorar a personas, lugares o eventos importantes de su vida, crea una forma de altar. Seguramente las personas no lo conocen por el nombre de altar, pero son tan importantes para ellas como lo son los altares religiosos. Los objetos que ponemos en un altar nos conectan con las personas, eventos u objetos que celebramos. Entre los altares podemos considerar las fotografías familiares colocadas en una mesita, la colección de figuras en un librero, las fotografías de tus estrellas favoritas pegadas en el gabinete de tu escuela.

Estudia tu escuela, tu casa o algunos lugares públicos (pastelerías o tiendas) y busca algo que consideres un altar. Tal vez descubras un monumento a un deportista local, la estampa de un santo de la región, un monumento a los héroes de la guerra. En la escuela puedes encontrar en el escritorio de tu maestro fotografías de su familia, o una vitrina con los trofeos ganados por los estudiantes de la escuela. En las tiendas podrás encontrar trenzas de ajos o naranjas o banderas colocadas sobre la caja o en un cuarto especial en conmemoración del



The Tohono O'odham Nation is in southern Arizona. • *La nación tohono o'odham está localizada en el sur de Arizona.* Photo by/foto de Jim Griffith

be served. Remember to explain what is being celebrated, and why the celebration is important to the community. You might mention some highlights, like the Mixteco candle making, or the moth cocoons used for the Tohono O'odham Pascola dancing. Announce your piece to your classmates. Ask them to tell you what information you forgot to include, if any.

2. Shrines in Everyday Life

Whenever someone designates a special place to commemorate people, places, and important events in his/her life, he/she creates a shrine of sorts. People may not call these places shrines, but they are important to the person who creates them, in the same way a religious shrine is important. The objects we place in a shrine connect us with the person, event, or object celebrated. Consider these: a group of family photos on a mantelpiece or end table; a decorative collection of ceramic figurines on a shelf; some photographs of your favorite movie star taped inside your school locker.

Look around your school, home, and other public places (local bakeries or family-run grocery stores) for examples of such shrines. You might find a tribute to a local sports hero, an image of an important saint, or a marker for a town's war heroes. At school, you might see pictures of your teacher's family on his/her desk, or a sports trophy case in the hallway. At a local family-run store, you might find garlic, oranges, or a national flag hung over the cash register or in a special alcove in celebration of the family's ethnicity. Take a photo of three of the shrines you find, draw a sketch, or describe them in a paragraph. Share your findings with the class.

lugar de origen de los dueños. Toma una foto o haz un dibujo de tres altares que encuentres y escribe un párrafo descriptivo. Intercambia tu información con el resto de la clase.

Ahora, crea tu propio altar. Algunas cosas que puedes hacer son: 1) un tributo a tu estrella musical o deportiva favorita con fotos y recortes de periódicos y revistas, 2) un montaje de fotografías familiares y recuerdos de una vacación o de una reunión familiar, 3) una exhibición de cosas que coleccionas: estampas deportivas, animales de peluche, recuerdos, etcétera.

Escribe un párrafo sobre tu altar. Explica por qué es importante para tí. Sácale una foto o llévalo a la escuela. Usa el párrafo que escribiste como un letrero descriptivo, y haz de cuenta que el salón de clase se convierte en un museo.

3. LOS RITUALES DE CADA DÍA

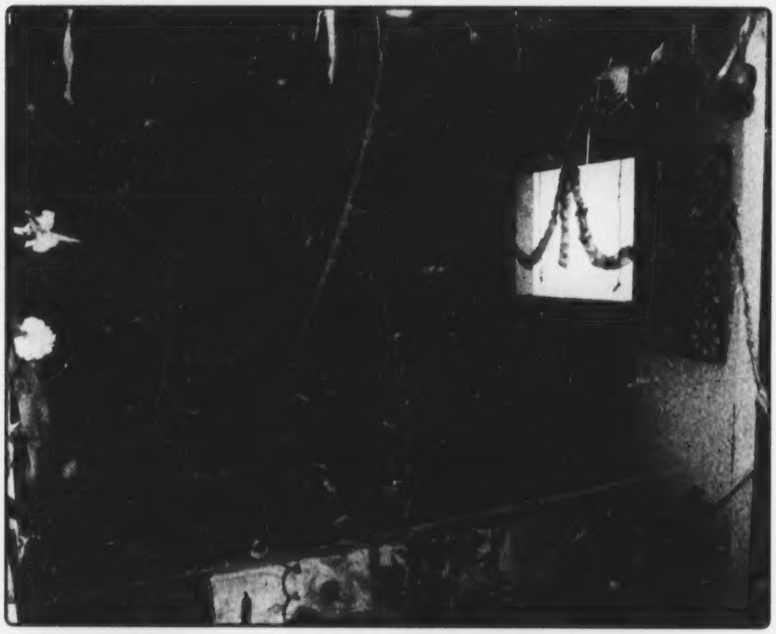
¿Qué es un ritual? Un ritual consiste en acciones ceremoniales específicas que se realizan para marcar una ocasión particular. La mayoría de la gente participa en rituales diferentes. A continuación citamos algunos ejemplos:

- cumpleaños: los amigos y familiares cantan una canción especial, se pide un deseo, se apagan las velas, se corta el pastel, se rompe una piñata, se abren los regalos. ¿Cuál es la tradición en tu familia? ¿Es siempre la misma?
- eventos deportivos: hay una actividad antes del juego, por ejemplo, una banda toca el himno de la escuela, para tener buena suerte los jugadores se ponen amuletos o recitan una frase, el juego comienza y la gente echa porras, después del juego se realizan otras actividades ya sea una fiesta de victoria o se reflexiona sobre la derrota. ¿Puedes recordar otros rituales asociados con los eventos deportivos?

Reflexiona sobre un ritual de cada día (o uno que sucede una vez al mes o al año) en el que participas (dar gracias antes de comer, saludar y despedirse). Escribe todos los elementos que forman parte del ritual y luego escribe un artículo sobre la importancia de todos los elementos que incluiste en tu lista.

4. PREPARA TU PROPIA FIESTA

Imagina que perteneces a una comunidad pequeña en la frontera y que estás ayudando a preparar una fiesta. Usa la fiesta descrita en el video como guía. Dale un nombre a tu fiesta. ¿Cuál es la ocasión



Fresh fruits and flowers adorn a Mixteco Day of the Dead altar and add tempting smells and colors. ● *Flores y fruta fresca adornan un altar mixteco para el Día de los Muertos.* Photo by/foto de Rick Vargas, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

Now make your own shrine. Possible ideas: 1) a tribute to your favorite rock star or sports star with photos and clippings from newspapers or magazines; 2) a collage of family photographs and memorabilia from a vacation or family reunion; 3) an arrangement of items you collect: sports cards, stuffed animals, show tickets, souvenirs.

Write a paragraph about your personal shrine. Why is it important to you? Include a photo if possible, or recreate the shrine in the classroom. Use your paragraph as a descriptive label, so the classroom will become a museum for the day.

3. EXPLORING EVERYDAY RITUALS

What is a ritual? A ritual consists of specific ceremonial actions used to mark a particular occasion. Most people participate in many rituals. Here are some examples:

- birthdays: friends and family sing a special song; a wish is made; candles are blown out; birthday cake is eaten; a *piñata* is broken; presents are opened. What happens in your family? Is it always the same?
- sports events: pre-game activities may take place, like a marching band playing the school song; players ensure good luck by wearing their favorite charm, reciting a good-luck phrase, or by other means; the game itself takes place with cheering and jeering; post-game activities celebrate victory or mull over defeat. Can you think of other rituals associated with sports events?

Think of an everyday ritual (or one that occurs once a month or year) that you participate in (grace at meals, saying hello and goodbye). Write down all of the elements that are a part of the ritual, like the lists above. Now, write a short essay explaining the importance of the different elements in your list.

Cada familia suele crear sus propios rituales para la celebración de cumpleaños. • Families develop their own rituals for annual birthday celebrations. Foto de/photo by Sheila Botein

especial que tu fiesta celebra? Toma en cuenta estas preguntas: ¿Participarán otras comunidades en tu fiesta? Observa el mapa cultural. ¿A quién vas a invitar a tu fiesta? ¿Qué tipo de grupos musicales vas a invitar? ¿Qué cosas pueden ofrecerte otras personas para ayudarte a planear la fiesta? **Pista:** ¿Podría Eduardo Auyón ayudarte con los letreros? ¿Qué vas a necesitar para tu fiesta? ¿Dónde vas a encontrar las cosas que necesitas? Haz una lista de las cosas que necesitas.

Imagina que algunas de las cosas que necesitas para esta fiesta se encuentran al otro lado de la frontera. ¿Quién va a cruzar la frontera para traerlas? ¿Habrá algún problema para localizar las cosas que necesitas y para cruzar la frontera? Llena las formas que reproducimos (página siguiente) para cruzar la frontera. Si un punto de cruce oficial se localiza a 40 millas y un cruce ilegal está a sólo 10 millas de distancia, ¿cuál punto de cruce usarás?

¿Cómo darías publicidad al evento? ¿Cuál crees que será la mejor manera de anunciar el evento en tu comunidad?

Supón que gente que no está familiarizada con tu evento va a asistir a la fiesta. Diseña un panfleto para informarle al público en general sobre la festividad. Incluye en el folleto la siguiente información: una breve reseña sobre la fiesta y la forma en que ha cambiado a través de los años, la programación del evento, un menú de la comida, agradecimientos a personas, tiendas, restaurantes y otras instituciones que han contribuido al éxito de la celebración.

4. PLANNING YOUR OWN FIESTA

Imagine that you are from a small border community and you are helping to plan a fiesta. Use the fiestas described in the videotape as a guide. Give your fiesta a name. What is the special occasion that your fiesta celebrates or marks? Consider these questions: Will other communities participate in your fiesta? Look at the cultural map. Whom will you invite to your fiesta? What kinds of music groups will you invite? Who on the cultural map might offer you help in your fiesta planning? **Clue:** Could Eduardo Auyón help make signs? What will you need for your fiesta? Where will you find these things? Make a list of the things you need.

Imagine that some of the things you need for the fiesta are located on the opposite side of the border. Who will go across the border to collect the supplies? Will there be any problem in locating these items and bringing them across the border? Fill out the forms (reproduced on the next page) to travel across the border. If the official crossing was 40 miles away and an unofficial crossing was only 10 miles away, which crossing would you use?

How will you publicize the event? What do you think will be the best way to announce your event in your community?

Imagine that people unfamiliar with your event are coming to the fiesta. Create a brochure to inform the general public about the fiesta. Include the following: a brief history of the fiesta; an account of how it has changed over the years; a schedule of events; a menu of foods; acknowledgments or thanks to the people, stores, restaurants, or others who have contributed to making the fiesta a success.

MUESTRA

U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

OMB 1115-0077

Número de entrada

Bienvenido a los Estados Unidos

727635783 01

I-94 Registro de llegada/salida – Instrucciones

Cada persona debe llenar este formulario excepto ciudadanos norteamericanos, extranjeros residentes de regreso, extranjeros con visa de inmigrante, y ciudadanos canadienses de paseo o en tránsito.

Escriba a máquina o en letra de molde con pluma. TODO EN MAYUSCULAS. Use inglés. No escriba al reverso.

Este formulario tiene dos partes. Asegúrese de llenar el registro de llegada (1-13) y de salida (14-17).

Cuando acabe, presente este formulario al inspector.

No. 7 – Si Ud. entra a los E.U. por tierra, ponga **LAND,** or mar ponga **SEA.**

Form I-94 (10-1-86)Y

Número de entrada

727635783 01

Servicio de Inmigración
y Naturalización

I-94
Registro de llegada

1 Apellido

2 Primer nombre | 3 Fecha de nac (día / mes / año)

4 Ciudadanía | 5 Sexo (Male or Female)

6 No. de pasaporte | 7 Aerolínea y No. de vuelo

8 País donde Ud. vive | 9 Puerto de embarque

10 Ciudad de emisión de visa | 11 Fecha de emisión de (día / mes / año)

12 Dirección en E.U. (No. y calle)

13 Ciudad y Estado

Número de entrada

727635783 01

Servicio de Inmigración
y Naturalización

I-94
Registro de llegada

14 Apellido

15 Primer nombre | 16 Fecha de nac (día / mes / año)

17 Ciudadanía

Vea el reverso **STAPLE HERE**

Este lado para uso del Gobierno

Primary Inspection

Applicant's Name ______

Date Referred ______ Time ______ Insp. # ______

Reason Referred

☐ 212A ☐ ☐ ☐ PP ☐ Visa ☐ Parole ☐ SLB ☐ TWOV

☐ Other ______

Secondary Inspection

End Secondary Time ______ Insp. # ______

Disposition ______

18. Occupation	19. Waivers
20. INS File A –	21. INS FCO
22. Petition Number	23. Program Number
24. ☐ Bond	25. ☐ Prospective Student

26. Itinerary / Comments

27. TWOV Ticket Number

Aviso – Si la persona que no es inmigrante acepta empleo sin autorización está sujeta a deportación.

Nota importante – Retenga Ud. este permiso que debe presentar al salir de E.U. ***Al no hacerlo prolongaría su entrada a E.U. en el futuro.***

UD. está autorizado a quedarse en E.U. solamente hasta la fecha indicada en esta planilla. Al pasar la fecha indicada sin el permiso de las autoridades de Inmigración sería violar la ley.

Entréguele este permiso al salir de E.U.

- A la línea de transportación, ya sea por mar o por aire,
- al oficial canadiense, al cruzar la frontera canadiense;
- al oficial estadounidense, al cruzar la frontera mejicana.

Estudiantes que planean volver a entar a los E.U. con plazo de 30 días para asistir a la misma escuela, lean "Llegada y salida" en Página 2. Formulario I-20 antes de entregar este permiso.

Record of Changes

Port: **Departure Record**

Date:

Carrier:

Flight # / Ship Name:

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SAMPLE

U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

OMB 1115-0077

Admission Number

Welcome to the United States

907369248 00

I-94 Arrival/Departure Record – Instructions

This form must be completed by all persons except U.S. Citizens, returning resident aliens, aliens with immigrant visas, and Canadian Citizens visiting or in transit.

Type or print legibly with pen in ALL CAPITAL LETTERS. Use English. Do not write on the back of this form.

This form is in two parts. Please complete both the Arrival Record (Items 1 through 13) and the Departure Record (Items 14 through 17).

When all items are completed, present this form to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Inspector.

Item 7 – If you are entering the United States by land, enter **LAND** in this space. If you are entering the United States by ship, enter **SEA** in this space.

Form I-94 (11-1-86)

Admission Number

907369248 00

Immigration and
Naturalization Service

I-94
Arrival Record

CLASS ______
OFFICE
CODE ______

1 Family Name

2 First (Given) Name

3 Birth Date (Day / Mo / Yr)

4 Country of Citizenship

5 Sex (Male or Female)

6 Passport Number

7 Airline or Flight Number

8 Country Where You Live

9 City Where You Boarded

10 City Where Visa Was Issued

11 Date Issued (Day / Mo / Yr)

12 Address While in the United States (Number and Street)

13 City and State

Departure Number

907369248 00

Immigration and Naturalization Service

A — — — — — — — — —

I-94 Departure Record

14 Family Name

15 First (Given) Name

16 Birth Date (Day / Mo / Yr)

17 Country of Citizenship

See Other Side

STAPLE HERE

This Side For Government Use Only

Primary Inspection

Applicant's Name ______

Date Referred ______ Time ______ Insp. # ______

Reason Referred

☐ 212A ☐ ☐ ☐ PP ☐ Visa ☐ Parole ☐ SLB ☐ TWOV

☐ Other ______

Secondary Inspection

End Secondary Time ______ Insp. # ______

Disposition ______

18. Occupation	19. Waivers
20. INS File A –	21. INS FCO
22. Petition Number	23. Program Number
24. ☐ Bond	25. ☐ Prospective Student

26. Itinerary / Comments

27. TWOV Ticket Number

Warning – A nonimmigrant who accepts unauthorized employment is subject to deportation.

Important – Retain this permit in your possession; ***you must surrender it when you leave the U.S.*** Failure to do so may delay your entry into the U.S. in the future.

You are authorized to stay in the U.S. only until the date written on this form. To remain past this date, without permission from immigration authorities, is a violation of the law.

Surrender this permit when you leave the U.S.:
- By sea or air, to the transportation line;
- Across the Canadian border, to a Canadian Official;
- Across the Mexican border, to a U.S. Official.

Students planning to reenter the U.S. within 30 days to return to the same school, see "Arrival–Departure" on page 2 of Form I–20 **prior to surrendering this permit.**

Record of Changes

Port: **Departure Record**

Date:

Carrier:

Flight # / Ship Name:

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LECTURA

LA VIRGEN DE GUADALUPE

DE OLIVIA CADAVAL

De acuerdo a la leyenda, en diciembre de 1531 la Virgen María se le apareció al indio Juan Diego en el cerro del Tepeyac, localizado muy cerca de lo que hoy es la ciudad de México. La Virgen le pidió a Juan Diego que le dijera al obispo de México, Juan de Zumárraga, que le construyera un templo en su honor en el lugar donde se había aparecido. El obispo no creyó la historia de Juan Diego y le pidió una prueba. La Virgen se le apareció otra vez a Juan Diego y le dijo que cortara rosas de Castilla, que crecían milagrosamente en el cerro estéril en pleno invierno. La Virgen le dijo a Juan Diego que llevara las rosas al obispo. Juan Diego puso las rosas en su tilma y se fue a ver al obispo. Estando enfrente del obispo, Juan Diego desenrolló su tilma revelando la imagen de la Virgen impresa en la tela. Este evento convenció al obispo el cual ordenó la construcción de una capilla para hospedar la imagen.

El cerro del Tepeyac, donde la aparición de la Virgen ocurrió, era de particular importancia para la población indígena de aquellos tiempos. Los aztecas honraban a la diosa Tonantzin en el mismo lugar. En 1810 la Virgen se convirtió en el símbolo nacional más importante cuando el padre Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla condujo a México hacia su independencia llevando como estandarte a la Virgen de Guadalupe.

Este altar casero es en honor a la Virgen de Guadalupe. • ***This home altar honors the Virgin of Guadalupe.*** *Foto del/photo by Norma Cantú*

La Virgen fue llevada a la frontera por los primeros colonos españoles. En 1659, una misión llamada Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe fue construida en El Paso del Norte a donde ahora se localizan Ciudad Juárez y El Paso. Este fue el primer poblado permanente a lo largo de la frontera. Trescientos años después la presencia de la Virgen persiste como parte de la identidad cultural de la región. En la década de 1960, la Virgen se convirtió en uno de los símbolos más importantes del movimiento chicano. La Virgen representó a "La Raza", la nueva cultura en las Américas que unía la herencia indígena americana y la europea.

Llamada "La Morenita," debido al color de su piel, la Virgen también es conocida con el nombre de Tonantzin, incorporando así la herencia azteca. Su encanto se extiende por todas partes. Sus seguidores proceden de todos niveles sociales incluyendo a banqueros, políticos, maestros, trabajadores en las maquiladoras y campesinos. Los indígenas y los mestizos con frecuencia le piden a la Virgen

READING
THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE
BY OLIVIA CADAVAL

According to the legend of the Virgin of Guadalupe, in December 1531 the Virgin Mary appeared to an Indian, Juan Diego, on the mountain of Tepeyac, located near what is now Mexico City. The Virgin directed Juan Diego to tell the Bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, to build a temple in her honor on the site where she had appeared. Doubting Juan Diego, the Bishop asked for a sign. The Virgin appeared again and told Juan Diego to cut roses of Castille, which were growing miraculously on the barren mountain in the middle of winter. The Virgin told Juan Diego to bring them to the Bishop. Juan Diego gathered the flowers in his cloak *(tilma)* and went to the Bishop. He unfolded the cloak in front of the Bishop and revealed an image of the Virgin imprinted on the fabric. Thus convinced, the Bishop commissioned a shrine to house her image.

The mountain of Tepeyac, where the vision of the Virgin occurred, had held important significance for Indian populations for some time. The Aztecs honored the deity Tonantzín at this same site. In 1810, the Virgin became a major symbol of nationhood when Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla led Mexico to independence carrying a banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

The Virgin was brought to the border region with the first Spanish settlements. In 1659, a mission called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe) was built at El Paso de Norte, where Ciudad Juárez and El Paso are now located. This was the earliest permanent settlement along the border. Three hundred years later, her presence persists as part of the cultural identity of the region. In the 1960s, the Virgin became one of the key symbols of the Chicano movement. She represented "La Raza," the new culture of the Americas that fused Native American and European heritages.

Known as La Morenita, because of her dark-skinned face, the Virgin is also referred to as Tonantzín, incorporating Aztec ancestry. Her appeal is widespread. Her followers come from all levels of society and include bankers, politicians, teachers, *maquiladora* workers, and farmers. Indians and mestizos from any walk of life often appeal to the Virgin for help and protection in everyday problems of health, family, and work, although they may have their own patron saint as well.[1]

At different places on the border, shrines with the Virgin's image appear in churches, markets, homes, yards, and in roadside altars. Artists incorporate her image into murals, tatoos, T-shirts, and lowrider cars. Furniture makers carve her image on chairs and headboards. The Virgin is ever present in the home, the neighborhood, and the community. On the border, as throughout the Americas, people celebrate the feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe on December 12th with music and processions. On this day, *norteño* and *conjunto* groups serenade the

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[1] Latin American countries are predominantly Roman Catholic. Most villages, towns, and cities have their own patron saint. In addition, many individuals adopt a personal patron saint if they feel a saint helped them during an especially difficult time.

***Un descanso al lado del camino, Baja California • A roadside altar, Baja California** Foto de/photo by Alfonso Cardona*

ayuda y protección en los problemas diarios relacionados con la salud, la familia y el trabajo a pesar de que tengan su propio santo.[1]

En lugares diferentes de la frontera, se encuentran altares con la imagen de la Virgen en iglesias, mercados, capillas a la orilla de la carretera llamadas "descansos". Muchos artistas incorporan su imagen en murales, tatuajes, playeras y carros *lowriders*. Muchos carpinteros labran la imagen de la Guadalupana en sillas y cabeceras de cama. La imagen de la Virgen está siempre presente en el hogar, el barrio y la comunidad. En la frontera y por todas las Américas, la gente celebra con música y procesiones el cumpleaños de la Virgen de Guadalupe el 12 de diciembre. En su día, grupos de música norteña y conjuntos le dan una serenata a la Virgen y le cantan "Las mañanitas". Desde 1600 hasta la fecha la Virgen se ha consolidado como un símbolo cultural poderoso y como una defensora para muchos residentes a lo largo de la frontera.

Para lecturas complementarias consulta la Bibliografía en el Apéndice.

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[1] Los paises de Latinoamérica son predominantemente católicos. La mayoría de los pueblos y ciudades tienen sus santos patronos. Muchas personas además adoptan su propio santo patrono si piensan que éste les ayuda durante un tiempo particularmente dificil.

PREGUNTAS

1. Reflexiona sobre la historia de la Virgen de Guadalupe. ¿Por qué es importante para muchos residentes de la frontera? **Pista:** ¿A quién se le apareció? ¿Cómo es? ¿Por qué es tan especial para los mexicanos?

2. ¿De qué manera la historia de la Virgen de Guadalupe une a las culturas europeas e indígenas? Identifica otro ejemplo de cultura en la frontera — comida, idioma, agricultura — que una a dos o más culturas.

3. Discute algunas de las formas modernas en que la imagen de la Virgen se usa en las expresiones artísticas. ¿Qué otras imágenes aparecen junto con la de la Virgen? **Pista:** Puedes usar el mapa cultural para inspirarte.

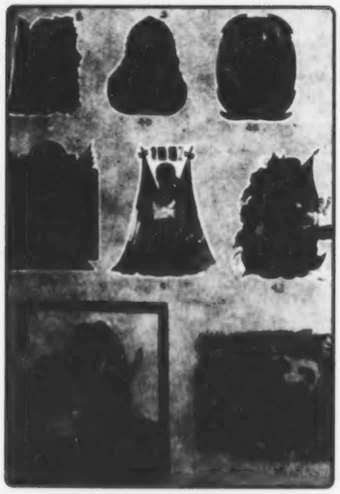
EJERCICIO

De acuerdo al texto que leíste sobre la Virgen de Guadalupe, la Virgen es un símbolo cultural a lo largo de la región fronteriza entre Estados Unidos y México. La imagen de la Virgen, sin importar la forma que tome, le recuerda a la gente las cosas que son importantes en sus vidas: sentimientos religiosos, orgullo de su herencia, un vínculo con otras personas de la región.

Busca algunos símbolos en tu vida, tu familia y tu comunidad. Si vives cerca de la frontera, explora tu comunidad y busca imágenes de la Virgen de Guadalupe. Para empezar, algunos lugares que puedes investigar son murales, carros *lowriders*, tatuajes, iglesias, tiendas, mercados y tu casa o la

Virgin with the traditional song, "*Las Mañanitas.*" From the 1600s to today, the Virgin has remained a powerful cultural symbol and advocate for many residents along the border.

For additional reading, consult the bibliography in the Appendix.



Tatoo designs range from images of popular heroes to that of the Virgin of Guadalupe. • En los diseños para tatuajes se encuentran tanto imágenes de héroes populares como la de la Virgen de Guadalupe.
Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval

The market place, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. • El mercado, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval

QUESTIONS

1. Think about the story of the Virgin of Guadalupe. What makes her image important to many border residents? **Clue:** To whom did the Virgin appear, what does she look like, what makes her uniquely Mexican?
2. In what ways does the history of the Virgin of Guadalupe bring together European and indigenous cultures? Identify another characteristic of the border — its food, language, agriculture — that brings together more than one culture.
3. Discuss some of the more contemporary ways the image of the Virgin is used in artistic expression. What other images are often shown alongside the image of the Virgin? **Clue:** You might use the cultural map for ideas.

EXERCISE

As you read, the Virgin of Guadalupe is a cultural *symbol* throughout the U.S.-Mexico border region. An image of the Virgin, no matter what form it takes, reminds people of important

casa de tus amigos. Si te es posible entrevista a las personas que venden imágenes de la Virgen, ¿qué significado tiene para ellos la imagen? Toma fotografías de las imágenes y sus alrededores o haz un dibujo. Intercambia tu información con tus compañeros de clase. Si no vives cerca de la frontera, selecciona un símbolo que es común en tu pueblo, región o estado. Algunos símbolos pueden ser:

- una bandera
- la mascota del equipo de tu escuela
- el emblema de un producto local (como el queso de Chihuahua)
- las orejas de Mickey Mouse en Orlando, Florida
- los mariachis en Guadalajara

Toma fotografías de las imágenes y de sus alrededores o haz un dibujo. Intercambia tu información con la de tus compañeros de clase.

things in their lives: religious feelings, pride in their heritage, a common bond with others from the region.

Look around for similar symbols in your life, your family, and your community. If you live near the border, explore your community for images of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Murals on public walls, lowrider cars, tatoos, church art, grocery or variety stores, marketplaces, and the homes of family and friends are all possible starting points. If possible, interview people who sell or own images of the Virgin. What do the images mean to them? Take photographs of the images in their surroundings or make sketches. Share your findings with your classmates. If you do not live near the border, pick a symbol that is common in your town, region, or state. License plates often provide clues to states' symbols. Possible symbols include:

- a flag
- a mascot for an athletic team
- an emblem of a local product (like peaches in Georgia)
- Mickey Mouse ears in Orlando, Florida
- cows in Wisconsin or Vermont (dairy states)

Take photographs of the images in their surroundings, or make sketches. Share your findings with your classmates.

Sumario de la Parte 2
CELEBRACIONES *e* IDENTIDAD

Ideas expuestas en esta sección:

- Las celebraciones a lo largo de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México frecuentemente dependen de la interrelación e interdependencia de la gente.
- Los símbolos, altares y rituales son símbolos culturales importantes en la vida diaria.

¿Qué viene a continuación?

En la siguiente sección, **Arte Popular e identidad,**
los estudiantes aprenderán:

- *algunas de las expresiones artísticas que se pueden encontrar a lo largo de la frontera (arte plástico, música y teatro).*
- *cómo estas expresiones artísticas reflejan la situación social y política.*
- *cómo las expresiones artísticas contribuyen a la formación de la identidad de los individuos y de las familias.*

Summary of Part 2
CELEBRATIONS *and* IDENTITY

Ideas in this section:

- Celebrations along the U.S.-Mexico border often rely on the interrelationship and interdependence of people.
- Icons, shrines, and rituals are important cultural symbols in everyday life.

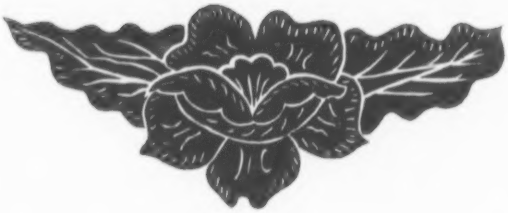
What's Next?

In the next **section, on Expressive Traditions and Identity, students** will learn:

- *some of the expressive traditions **that can** be found on the border (visual art, music, theater).*
- *how these expressive traditions reflect contemporary social and political issues.*
- *how expressive traditions contribute to the identity of individuals and families.*

Part 3:

EXPRESSIVE TRADITIONS AND IDENTITY



Parte 3:

ARTE POPULAR E IDENTIDAD

INTRODUCCIÓN *para el* MAESTRO

La gente que vive a lo largo de la frontera se expresa a sí misma de varias maneras: a través de la música, la danza, la pintura, el teatro y la literatura. En esta región, el arte popular incluye corridos que hacen un recuento de los eventos históricos, murales o improvisaciones de teatro callejero que denuncian la injusticia social y los carros *lowriders* que orgullosos muestran la presencia de la cultura e identidad chicana.

En esta sección, los estudiantes verán la Parte 3 del video, el cual introduce a artistas de ambos lados de la frontera. Carlos Callejo es un muralista de El Paso. La Brigada por la Paz es el nombre de un grupo muralista cholo de Ciudad Juárez. El artista de carros *lowriders*, Romy Frías habla de la importancia del arte en su vida. El grupo de teatro, El Taller Universitario de Teatro, presenta un segmento de su obra de improvisación, "Mexicali a secas." Los Hermanos Layton, un conjunto musical, habla sobre la historia musical de su familia, y Carmen Cristina Moreno canta un corrido.

Uno de los ejercicios ayuda a los estudiantes a organizar su información sobre estas expresiones populares. Otros ejercicios incluyen la lectura de un extracto de una entrevista con Romy Frías en la que explica cómo cambió su vida después de que se unió al club de carros *lowriders*. Los estudiantes examinan un corrido y luego también se les invita a que escriban una corta representación teatral. Esta sección incluye dos lecturas: la primera cuenta la historia de un dúo musical, "El Palomo y El Gorrión," y la segunda resume la historia y significado actual de los murales a lo largo de la frontera.

Ejercicios sugeridos para esta sección:
Corridos: Es posible que usted quiera ofrecer más ejemplos de corridos a sus estudiantes. Vea el corrido "En honor a Kennedy" en el Apéndice o consulte las publicaciones de Américo Paredes y de Vicente Mendoza citadas en la Bibliografía para más ejemplos.

Teatro: Lleve a su clase recortes de noticias importantes publicadas en los periódicos locales para darles ideas a sus estudiantes sobre temas que pueden usar para escribir su representación teatral.

Al terminar esta sección los estudiantes:

- *reconocerán que las expresiones artísticas populares constituyen una parte importante de la vida personal, familiar y comunal.*
- *notarán cómo las expresiones artísticas populares reflejan situaciones políticas y sociales actuales.*

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

People along the border express themselves in many ways: through music, dance, painting, theater, and literature. In this region, traditional expressions include ballads that recount historical events, murals or improvised street plays that are public statements about social injustice, and lowrider cars that proudly showcase the presence of a vibrant Chicano culture and identity.

In this section, students will view Part 3 of the video, which introduces artists from both sides of the border. Carlos Callejo is a muralist from El Paso. La Brigada por la Paz (The Brigade for Peace) is the name of a group of *cholo* muralists from Juárez. Lowrider car artist Romy Frías talks about the importance of his art in his life. The street theater group, El Taller Universitario de Teatro, performs a segment of their improvisational play, *"Mexicali a secas."* The Layton Family, *conjunto* musicians, discuss their family's musical history, and Carmen Cristina Moreno sings a *corrido* (ballad).

A charting exercise helps students to organize information about these traditional expressions. Additional exercises include an excerpt from an interview with Romy Frías, in which he explains how his life changed following his involvement with the Slow and Low lowrider club. Students examine a *corrido* and are encouraged to write their own improvisational skit. This section includes two reading pieces: the first narrates the story of the musical duo El Palomo y El Gorrión, and the second summarizes the history and contemporary significance of murals along the border.

Suggestions to prepare for exercises in this section:
Corridos: You may wish to provide more examples of *corridos* for your students. See the *corrido* "In Honor of Kennedy" in the Appendix or consult publications by Américo Paredes and Vicente Mendoza in the Bibliography for more examples.
Theater: Bring in newspaper clippings about current local problems and issues to give students ideas for their skit topic.

By the end of this section, students will:

- *recognize expressive traditions as an important part of people's personal, family, and community lives.*
- *learn how expressive traditions reflect contemporary social and political issues.*

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Discusión de la cita

Lee la siguiente cita y discute las preguntas que la suceden:

> *La verdad es la verdad. Donde hay problemas, hay problemas. Puedes pintarlos en la pared o en el cofre de un carro. Nosotros estamos tratando de hacer historia, de decir la verdad, de informar a la gente. Unas personas lo hacen de una forma, nosotros lo hacemos a través de la pintura. Esta es la forma que hemos elegido para expresarnos. Se trata de expresarse.*
>
> Romy Frías, artista de carros *lowriders*, El Paso, Texas

¿ Cómo puede la gente expresar la verdad o sus problemas a través del arte?

¿Qué preguntas te haces después de leer esta cita? Escribe tus preguntas. Revisa tus preguntas después de ver el video.

Proyección del video

Observa la Parte 3, **Arte Popular e identidad** del video y discute lo siguiente:

- ¿Respondió el video a algunas de las preguntas que te habías hecho con anterioridad? ¿Qué nuevas preguntas te planteaste?
- ¿Qué diferencia existe entre la experiencia de Carlos Callejo y la de los miembros de La Brigada por la Paz?
- ¿Cuáles son algunas de las similitudes entre la creación de un carro *lowrider* y la de un mural?
- ¿Qué papel ha jugado la historia y la familia en las experiencias de Carmen Cristina Moreno y de Norfilia Layton?

Discussion Quotation

Read the following quotation, and discuss the questions that follow:

> *The truth is the truth. Where there are problems, there are problems. Whether you put it on a wall or the hood of a car, we are trying to make a story, tell the truth, let everybody know. Some people do it one way, our way is through paint. This is the way we choose to express ourselves. It's all about expression.*
>
> Romy Frías, lowrider artist, El Paso, Texas

Romy Frías, a lowrider from El Paso, Texas, holds a hood ornament with the name of his car club, Slow and Low. • Romy Frías, un lowrider de El Paso, Texas, muestra una decoración para su carro con el nombre de su club "Low and Slow". Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Smithsonian Institution

How can people express truth, or problems, through art? What questions does this quotation raise for you? Write down your questions. Look back at your questions following the video viewing.

Video Viewing

Watch **Expressive Traditions and Identity,** Part 3 of the video. Discuss the following:

- Were any of your earlier questions answered by the video?
- What new questions did the video raise for you?
- How do the experiences of Carlos Callejo differ from those of the members of La Brigada por la Paz?
- What are some of the similarities between the creation of a lowrider car and the painting of a mural?
- How have family and history influenced the experiences of Carmen Cristina Moreno and Norfilia Layton?

EJERCICIOS

1. TABLA DE ARTE

Haz una lista de las diferentes expresiones artísticas mencionadas en el video.

Haz una tabla que te permita comparar y contrastar los diferentes tipos de expresión. Para hacer la comparación usa las siguientes categorías y si te parece necesario añade otras.

- tipo: oral/escrita/musical/visual (pintura, dibujo, etcétera)
- autor: compuesta por un artista/compuesta por un grupo
- tema: histórico/social/de entretenimiento/de sobrevivencia
- significado para el(los) artista(s): solidaridad con la familia o un grupo/expresión de una injusticia o problema social/afirmación de identidad

Discute la forma en que esta tabla pone énfasis en las diferencias y semejanzas entre las expresiones artísticas populares a lo largo de la frontera.

2. LOS CORRIDOS: LA HISTORIA CANTADA

Los corridos son baladas que cuentan la historia de un evento importante en un lugar determinado. Un corrido interpreta, celebra y dignifica eventos que le son conocidos a la audiencia. El tema del corrido puede ser de amor o un comentario sobre la situación política. La letra puede referirse a alguna figura heróica, por ejemplo un general, un presidente o un bandido. El corrido puede narrar la historia de una persona común que es conocida localmente. La historia que se cuenta en un corrido, así como la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe, es un símbolo que tiene un valor especial para la comunidad.

El corrido tiene la siguiente forma poética tradicional:

- versos en cuartetos (con cuatro líneas)
- un patrón de rima ABCB (observa el segundo verso de la letra del corrido en la página 88)
- algunos tienen un estribillo de cuatro líneas.

La historia del corrido también sigue un formato típico:

1) Apertura formal – un llamado del corridista al público.
2) Introducción – descripción del escenario: lugar donde transcurre, fecha y nombre del personaje principal del corrido. (Observa los versos #1 y #2.)

EXERCISES

1. ART CHART

Make a list of the different forms of artistic expression in the video. Create a chart that compares and contrasts the types of expression. Use the following categories for comparison, and add others if you feel the necessity.

- Type: oral/written/sung/visual (painted, sketched, etc.)
- Authorship: composed by one artist/composed by group
- Theme: historical/social statement/entertainment/survival
- Meaning to artist(s): group or family solidarity/expression of injustice or social problem/statement of identity

Discuss how the chart emphasizes the differences and similarities among the forms of traditional artistic expression along the border.

2. *CORRIDOS:* THE SINGING OF A STORY

Corridos are musical ballads that tell stories about events of significance to a place. A *corrido* interprets, celebrates, and dignifies events already familiar to its audience. Themes range from love to commentary on a political situation. The narrative may have an epic flavor that concerns an heroic figure, for example a bandit, a general, or a president. It may be the story of an ordinary person recognized locally by the community. Like the Virgin of Guadalupe's image, the events told in a *corrido* form are symbols of value to the community.

A *corrido* follows a traditional poetic form:

- Quatrain verse – 4 lines
- Rhyming pattern – A B C B (see second verse of the *corrido* in Spanish, page 90)
- Some have a 4-line refrain.

The content of the *corrido* also follows a standard format:

1) Formal opening – Initial call of the *corridista* (balladeer) to the public.
2) Introduction – Setting the scene. Often states the place, date, and name of the main character of the *corrido* (see verses #1 and #2).
3) Action – The arguments of the protagonist as reported by the narrator through face-to-face conversations (see verse #2, #4, #6). The story is told in the third person, by an observer.

Gregorio Cortez is a border hero from the Lower Río Grande region. The corrido named after him made him famous in the region. • Gregorio Cortez es un héroe de la frontera en la región del río Bravo. El corrido que lleva su nombre lo hizo famoso en la región. *Photo courtesy/foto cortesia University of Illinois Press (Américo Paredes' personal collection)*

3) Acción – Los argumentos del protagonista son reportados por el narrador en una conversación "frente a frente." (Observa los versos #2, #4 y #6.) Un observador cuenta la historia en tercera persona.
4) El mensaje (observa #9).
5) La despedida del protagonista (observa #10).
6) Despedida – La despedida del corridista (observa #11).

Los corridos cambian de una región a otra y la mayoría de los corridos no usan todos los elementos. En la frontera la apertura no es tan importante como lo es la despedida y muchas veces los corridistas se saltan la introducción y de inmediato pasan a la acción.

Algunas frases comunes como *Ya con ésta me despido* y *Vuela, Vuela Palomita* son señal obvia de la despedida. (Observa #10 y #11).

En el video, Carmen Cristina Moreno canta un corrido que sucede durante la Revolución Mexicana (1910-17). Ella explica que la canción tiene un significado especial para ella porque su padre participó en la Revolución. Carmen Cristina canta el corrido en español y luego lo traduce para el público de habla inglesa. Esta es la letra del corrido:

1. De Allende se despidió
a los 21 años cabales,
gratos recuerdos dejó
al pueblo y a los rurales.

2. Estaba Arnulfo sentado (A)
y en eso pasa un rural [un teniente]; (B)
le dice: "Oye ¿qué me ves?" (C)
"La vista es natural." (B)

3. El rural muy enojado
en la cara le pegó,
con su pistola en la mano
con la muerte le amagó.

4. Arnulfo se levantó,
llamándole la atención:
"Oiga, amigo, no se vaya,
falta mi contestación."

Durante el festival, Carmen Cristina termina la sesión cuando sólo ha cantado parte del corrido que continúa así:

5. Se agarraron a balazos,
se agarraron frente a frente,

4) The message (see #9).
5) The farewell of the protagonist (see #10).
6) Formal close (*despedida*) – The farewell of the *corridista* (see #11).

Corridos vary from region to region, and most *corridos* don't employ all elements. On the border, the formal opening is not as important as the formal closing, the *despedida*. Often the *corridista* will jump to the action, skipping the introduction.

Certain standard phrases, such as *"Ya con ésta me despido"* (With this I say farewell) and *"Vuela, vuela palomita"* (Fly, fly, little dove), often signal the *despedida* (see #10 and #11).

In the video, Carmen Cristina Moreno sings a *corrido* that is set during the Mexican Revolution (1910-17). She explains that the song has a special meaning for her because her father fought in the Revolution. Carmen Cristina sings the *corrido* in Spanish and then translates for the English-speaking audience. Here are the words to the *corrido*:

> 1. He said farewell to Allende
> At exactly twenty-one years of age;
> He left pleasant memories
> With the people and the *rurales* (federal troops).
>
> 2. Arnulfo was sitting down,
> When a lieutenant happens to pass by;
> The lieutenant says to him, "Listen, why are you staring at me?"
> "Looking is very natural."
>
> 3. The lieutenant was very angry,
> And he struck him in the face;
> With his pistol in his hand,
> He threatened him with death.
>
> 4. Arnulfo rose to his feet,
> Calling the lieutenant down:
> "Listen, friend, don't go away.
> My reply is yet to come."

At the Festival, Carmen Cristina stops in the middle of the *corrido*. This is how the song concludes:

> 5. They started shooting at each other,
> They were fighting face to face;
> With his pistol Arnulfo
> Shot the lieutenant three times.

Arnulfo con su pistola
tres tiros le dio al teniente.

6. Pero ¡ay! le dice el teniente,
ya casi pa'agonizar:
"Oiga, amigo, no se vaya,
acábeme de matar."

7. Arnulfo se devolvió
a darle un tiro en la frente,
pero en la vuelta que dio
allí le pegó el teniente.

8. Arnulfo muy mal herido
en un carro iba colando,
cuando llegó al hospital
Arnulfo iba agonizando.

9. ¡Qué bonitos son los hombres
que se matan pecho a pecho,
cada uno con su pistola,
defendiendo su derecho!

10. Vuela, vuela palomita,
párate en esos trigales,
anda avísale a Lupita
que murió Arnulfo González,
se llevó una cabecita
del teniente de rurales.

11. Ya con ésta me despido,
pacíficos y fiscales,
aquí se acaba el corrido
del teniente y de González.

En un grupo pequeño o con todos los estudiantes de la clase, compongan un corrido sobre una persona, un suceso de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México o sobre su comunidad. Pueden usar la música de una canción conocida y pueden cantar el corrido en la clase. Para inspirarse, escuchen otra vez la canción de Carmen Cristina.

3. *LOWRIDERS:* UN LLAMADO DESDE LA CALLE

En el Festival de las Culturas Populares, Romy Frías de El Paso, Texas, contó la historia de cómo se unió al club de carros *Slow and Low* (Bajo y lento).

> *Cuando estaba en la preparatoria jugaba en el equipo de fútbol americano y sufrí una lesión muy grave en la rodilla. La lesión me impidió continuar con el entrenamiento. Mi vida se desplomó*

6. But, "Oh," the lieutenant says,
Almost with his last breath,
"Listen, friend, don't go away.
Come back and finish me off."

7. Arnulfo returned,
To put a bullet through his forehead,
But as he turned around,
The lieutenant shot him down.

8. Arnulfo, very badly wounded,
Was taken away in a car;
When he got to the hospital,
He was near his death bed.

9. How admirable are the men
Who fight to the death face to face,
Each one of them with his pistol,
Defending his right!

10. Fly, fly, little dove,
Go light on those wheat fields;
Go take the news to Lupita
That Arnulfo González is dead;
He took a scalp along with him,
That of the lieutenant of the *rurales*.

11. Now with this I say farewell
To civilians and to officials;
This is the end of the ballad
Of the lieutenant and González.

As a class, or in small groups, compose your own ballad, either about a person or an event on the U.S.-Mexico border, or from your own community. You might borrow music from a song you know and perform it for the class. Listen to Carmen Cristina's song again for ideas.

3. LOWRIDERS: A STATEMENT FROM THE STREETS

At the Festival of American Folklife, Romy Frías of El Paso, Texas, told the following story about how he joined the Slow and Low car club.

> *I played football in high school, and I suffered a very crippling knee injury. This injury stopped me from practicing. My life was very crushing to me. I turned to the gangs; they also have a very high profile, and I was by no means as wimpy as the coaches made me out to be. So there I was, a soldier of the gangs for a while, and I saw where that was taking me. I didn't really see myself as that kind of a follower. So for about two, three months*

y me metí con las pandillas: las pandillas tienen un perfil muy alto y yo no era un "coyón" como los entrenadores decían que era. Durante un tiempo estuve con la pandilla pero me di cuenta hacia dónde estaba yendo. No soy ese tipo de seguidor así que por dos o tres meses traté de no asociarme con las pandillas. Me convertí en un blanco para las bromas y para los pandilleros.

Poco a poco empecé a interesarme en los carros lowriders que pasaban por las calles. Uno siempre sueña con tener un carro como esos. Tenía un Escort 1987 y empecé a trabajar en él. Después de ir a la escuela iba a trabajar y con el dinero que ganaba, en vez de gastarlo invitando a mis amigos a ir a tomar, lo invertí en mi carro, poco a poco los clubes de carros se interesaron en mí.

Un fin de semana, mientras seguía a un grupo de carros, unos pandilleros de mi ex-pandilla y de otras pandillas que se habían aliado a ésta se me acercaron y me sacaron de mi carro — verdaderamente me sacaron por la ventana de mi auto — y me dijeron que esa noche no iba a llegar a mi casa y que iban a dar un paseo en mi carro. Cuando los miembros del club del Slow and Low se dieron cuenta de lo que estaba pasando vinieron adonde estaba y se estacionaron cerca de mi carro. No venían a demostrar su fuerza; sólo se hicieron presentes. Había cuarenta miembros del Slow and Low, cuarenta carros diferentes, la mayoría de ellos Volkswagen, algunas camionetas y unos cuantos carros tradicionales. Los pandilleros no lo podían ignorar.

Cuando los pandilleros vieron los carros me soltaron. Un par de gente del Slow and Low, a los que podríamos llamar líderes, también se me acercaron y me saludaron: "Romy, te conocemos desde hace tiempo y nos hemos dado cuenta que te interesa el lowriding, nos gustaría saber si quieres juntarte con nosotros ya que has hecho tanto." No les dijeron nada a los pandilleros. Lo único que hicieron fue saludarme. Su presencia bastó para que los pandilleros me dejaran tranquilo.

Por un par de años recibí amenazas y chismes pero los socios de Slow and Low siempre estaban conmigo. Como agradecimiento les enseñé las cosas que había aprendido. Nunca olvidaré aquella noche, estaba aterrorizado. No sabía si iba a regresar a mi casa. A esos tipos se les conocía por ser buenos acuchilladores. Se sabe que siempre están armados. Slow and Low se hizo presente y fue la única forma en que se le dio fin al

Romy Frías shares his lowrider scrapbook with Festival visitors. ● Romy Frías muestra su álbum lowrider a los visitantes del Festival. Photo by/foto de Rick Vargas, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

I went through the painstaking task of disassociating myself from the gangs around the city. Now I was a target for the jocks and for the gang members.

Little by little, I started seeing the cars cruising around. You always dream about having a car like that. I had an '87 Escort, so I started putting my attention toward my vehicle. I did after-school jobs, and what little money I was making, rather than spend it foolishly taking the boys out to drink beer, I started putting it into my car. And little by little, I started attracting the attention of the car clubs.

One weekend, I was just minding my own business, following the cruising scene. I was approached by a number of gang members, both from my ex-gang and other gangs that were allied with them. The gang members pulled me out of the car — they literally pulled me out of the window of the car — and told me I wasn't going to go home tonight and that they'd have fun cruising my new ride. Immediately upon seeing that, Slow and Low car club members pulled around me. It wasn't so much a show of force; they just showed up. Slow and Low showed up that time with 40 members, 40 different vehicles, mostly VWs, some mini-trucks, and a few traditionals. This was indeed something that the gangs would have to reckon with.

When the gangs saw that, they let me go. A couple of the board members, the leaders if you will, of Slow and Low, came up to me and shook my hand. "Hi, Romy, we've known you for a while, and we saw you are interested in lowriding. We were wondering if you would like to hook up with us, 'cause we think you have come a long way." They didn't tell the gang members anything. All they did was show up and introduce themselves to me. Their very presence was intimidating enough for the gang members to leave me alone.

Of course, the next couple of years would bring threats and gossip, but they were there for me. In return, I've given them the skills that I have learned. I will never forget that night. I was terrified. I didn't know if I was going to go home. The guys were known as knifers. They were known to bring weapons. Slow and Low showed up, and it was a unique way that they defused the situation. It showed the responsibility of the members not to bring themselves down to the mentality of the gang members,

asunto. Este acto mostró la responsabilidad de los miembros del club al no ponerse al nivel de los pandilleros. Ellos sólo se hicieron presentes y me invitaron a unirme a ellos. De manera efectiva esto erradicó por completo la presencia de la pandilla.

- La historia de Romy demuestra cómo un club de *lowrider* puede ser una buena alternativa a la de asociarse a una pandilla. ¿Qué actividades en tu comunidad puede tener el mismo propósito?
- ¿Alguna vez has estado en una situación peligrosa como la que Romy describe? ¿Cómo se resolvió la situación? ¿Cómo contarías la historia?
- Diseña tu carro *lowrider* usando colores, símbolos y otros elementos que expresen tu identidad y la de tu grupo. Como modelo puedes usar el dibujo que está en la página 97.

4. IMPROVISACIÓN TEATRAL

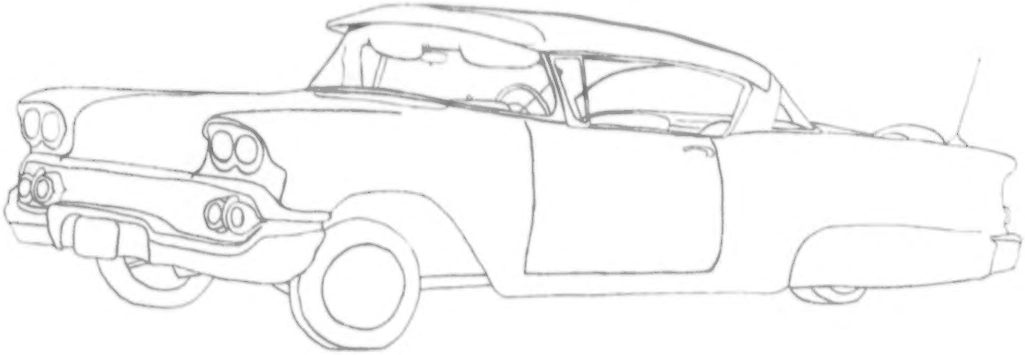
El Taller Universitario de Teatro de Mexicali, Baja California, presenta una obra de teatro experimental a los visitantes del Festival. ● El Taller Universitario de Teatro, a theater group from Mexicali, Baja California, performs experimental theater for Festival visitors. Foto de/photo by Rick Vargas, cortesía/courtesy Smithsonian Institution

A lo largo de la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México el teatro frecuentemente expresa temas como la injusticia, la discriminación, la pobreza y la contaminación. Como observaste en una parte del video, el grupo de teatro fronterizo El Taller Universitario de Teatro, usa su obra *Mexicali a secas* para denunciar las injusticias en la industria de las maquiladoras.

- Forma pequeños grupos en tu clase. Selecciona un problema que exista en tu área. Elige diferentes personajes que representen los diferentes puntos de vista que haya respecto al problema.
- Algunos posibles temas son:
  - *las relaciones raciales en una preparatoria cercana*
  - *la contaminación del agua potable*
  - *las zonas marginadas*
  - *las drogas*
  - *la migración*
- Escribe una pequeña obra para representar el problema. Representa la obra en tu clase, usa vestuario y decoraciones sencillas.

> *but rather just to show up and to get me involved. It effectively eradicated the whole presence of the gang, completely.*

- Romy's story shows how a lowrider club can act as a positive alternative to joining a gang. What activities in your community might serve the same purpose?
- Have you ever been in a potentially dangerous situation like the one Romy describes? How was the situation resolved? How would you tell the story?
- Design your own lowrider car, using colors, symbols, and other elements to express your identity or that of your group. You can use the following drawing as an outline.



4. THEATER IMPROVISATION

Along the U.S.-Mexico border, theater often expresses issues such as injustice, discrimination, poverty, and pollution. The border theater group, El Taller Universitario de Teatro, uses their play, *"Mexicali a secas,"* to point out injustices in the *maquiladora* industry, as you saw in the brief excerpt of their performance on the video.

- Break into small groups. Pick a topic that is a problem in your area. Select different characters to represent different points of view.
- Possible topics include:
  - *strained race relations in a nearby high school*
  - *pollution in a local water supply*
  - *homelessness*
  - *drugs*
  - *migration*
- Create a skit to dramatize the problem. Perform it for your class with simple costumes and props. Or record it as a radio play, and broadcast it over the school loudspeaker system.

LECTURA

HISTORIA DEL DÚO EL PALOMO Y EL GORRIÓN

El siguiente pasaje fue tomado de Ingratos Ojos Mios: Miguel Luna y la historia de El Palomo y El Gorrión, *la historia de dos hermanos, Miguel y Cirilo Luna Franco. Los hermanos nacieron en El Sáuz, un rancho en el estado fronterizo de Nuevo León, en el norte de México. Esta es la historia de su carrera musical como el dúo El Palomo y El Gorrión. Miguel cuenta la historia y Guillermo Berrones la escribe.*

¡Ahí vienen Los Pájaros! Desde niños nos conocen de esa manera en La Chona [el nombre del pueblo cerca del rancho donde vivían] y ahora en todos lados. Dice papá que a mi me puso Gorrión porque me parecía a esos pajaritos que cuando nacen tienen muy pocas plumas y como yo estaba casi pelón al nacer me bautizo así. A Palomo porque cuando nació era gordito, lleno de carnes y como los palomos son pechugones, por eso le puso así. Hasta la fecha cuando la gente sabe que andamos ahí, mencionan: "Aquí andan Los Pájaros". Me recuerda mi infancia, la gente del pueblo y la tierra de donde somos.

Cuando estaban jóvenes papá, Ramoncito [un amigo de la familia] y mamá formaron un grupo y se juntaban para amenizar una que otra fiesta. Se iban a tocar y luego regresaban bien surtidos de chivos, marranos y frijol, que era con lo que les pagaban.

La verdad es que papá canta muy desafinado, pero eso sí, es de mucho gusto y muy terco. Lo de cantante lo traemos por mi mamá, y lo de la carrera pues la iniciamos en las escuelas de los ejidos. Nos llevaban las maestras. Ellas mismas nos recomendaban en otras escuelas. Así empecé a salir a un rancho y a otro. Luego ya con el tiempo nos fuimos para México. [El padre llevó a los tres hijos a la ciudad de México en busca de un doctor para examinar un ojo dañado que tenía El Palomo.] Nos pusimos a cantar en la calle, en mercados y en los camiones para seguir buscando otros

El Palomo y El Gorrión empezaron a cantar en público desde pequeños. • El Palomo y El Gorrión began performing at an early age. Foto cortesía/photo courtesy Guillermo Berrones, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Centro de Información de Historia Regional

READING

THE STORY OF THE DUO EL PALOMO Y EL GORRIÓN

The following excerpts are from Ingratos ojos míos: Miguel Luna y la historia de El Palomo y El Gorrión, *the story of two brothers, Miguel and Cirilo Luna Franco. The brothers were born in El Sáuz, a ranch in the border state of Nuevo León in northern Mexico. This is the story of their musical career as the duo El Palomo y El Gorrión. The story is told by Miguel, "El Gorrión," and written down by Guillermo Berrones.*

Here come The Birds! From childhood, that's how we have been known in La Chona [the name of the small town near the ranch where they lived] and everywhere we have been since. Father says that he called me Gorrión [Sparrow] because I looked like those little birds that have very few feathers when they are born. I was bald at birth, and so he baptized me Gorrión. Palomo [Dove] was chubby when he was born, like a dove with a fat breast, and that's why Father gave him that name. To this day, when we are around, people say, "Here come the Pajaros [Birds]." It makes me think of my childhood, my town's people and the land we come from.

When they were young, Father, Ramoncito [a friend of the family] and my mother formed a musical group and played for parties. They would return with goats, pigs and beans, which was how they were paid.

The truth is that Father was out of tune, but he liked to sing and he was stubborn. We learned to sing from my mother. We started performing in the ranch schools. One school would recommend us to other schools. That's how I started going from one ranch to another. Eventually we went to Mexico City. [The father took the three sons to Mexico City to see a doctor about Palomo's eye, which he had hurt in an accident.] We sang in the streets, in markets and on buses. Father realized singing brought in cash, which meant we could keep looking for doctors.

One day, Father decided to go to Cuernavaca. We went with trip fare only. The brightly lit signs greeted us as we arrived. I was traumatized from that time on. Whenever I saw the image of those lights, I was overcome with sadness. It meant arriving in an unknown town and singing, singing and singing. If we arrived at night we would go directly to the bars, because we had to get enough money for the hotel.

If the town had a radio station, Father would ask them to let us sing. They would say no but he would insist stubbornly until we got a chance. Then he would ask for a letter that stated we had sung at the station.

One day while singing on a bus, we met a man who was the representative for several important music groups. He heard us and said, "Get off." We were afraid but we got off. He said, "Would you like to record?" "Yes, but we have to talk to our father." "I'll give you my card and you tell your father to bring you to this address." [Thus, El Palomo y El Gorrión began their recording career.]

The golden age of El Palomo y El Gorrión was in the 1960s. We filled the plazas in Torreón, Nuevo Laredo and

doctores. Fue cuando papá vio que cantar nos dejaba una buena lanita y empezó a juntarla.

Un día se le ocurrió a papá ir a conocer Cuernavaca. Con los puros gastos del pasaje nos fuimos. Cuando íbamos llegando yo miraba los anuncios luminosos. Creo que me quedé traumado desde entonces. Porque nada más veía esa imagen y me daba un chingo de tristeza. Significaba llegar a un pueblo desconocido y cantar, cantar y cantar. Si llegábamos de noche nos íbamos directos a las cantinas, a donde fuera, porque había que sacar para pagar el hotel.

Pero lo que sí tenemos que agradecerle a mi papá es que llegabamos y si había una difusora, pedía que nos dieran una oportunidad de cantar. Le decían que no. Pero terco les insistía hasta que nos daban chance de cantar. Luego les pedía una carta donde constaba que habíamos estado en tal fecha en su estación.

Una vez, cantando en un camión nos encontró un señor, que fue representante de varios grupos importantes. Nos oyó cuando cantábamos y nos dijo: "Bájense." Palomo y yo nos asustamos. Bajamos con miedo y nos dijo: "Oigan, ¿no les gustaría grabar?" "Sí, pero nosotros tenemos nuestro papá." "Les voy a dar esta tarjeta y díganle a su papá que los lleve mañana a esta dirección." [Así empezó la fama de El Palomo y El Gorrión.]

La época de oro de El Palomo y el Gorrión puede decirse que fue en los sesentas. Llenábamos plazas como la de Torreón, Nuevo Laredo y tantas que ahora son recuerdos mucho muy bonitos. Fuimos también a muchas rancherías a fiestas donde nos alumbrábamos con lámparas de petróleo y cantando a puro pulmón. Hasta la fecha seguimos teniendo contacto con el rancho y con la misma gente del campo. No hemos olvidado nuestros orígenes.

PREGUNTAS

1. ¿Dónde aprendieron a cantar El Palomo y El Gorrión? ¿De qué manera es la historia de su familia importante para el dúo?
2. ¿Por qué crees que El Gorrión se traumó con las luces de Cuernavaca?

many others. We also went to ranches lit with oil lamps and we sang without amplification. To this day we keep in touch with the ranch and with the country folk. We return to visit and to be together. We have not forgotten our origins.

El Palomo and El Gorrión, a musical duo from Monterrey, Nuevo León, sing rancheras and corridos at the Festival in Washington. ● El Palomo y El Gorrión, un dúo musical de Monterrey, Nuevo León, canta rancheras y corridos en el Festival en Washington.

Photo by/foto de Jeff Tinsley, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

QUESTIONS

1. Where did El Palomo y El Gorrión learn to sing? Is family history important to this duo? In what ways?

2. Why do you think El Gorrión was traumatized by the bright lights of Cuernavaca?

LECTURA

LOS MURALES

DE KARIN HAYES

Los murales son una forma excelente de comunicar tradiciones, leyendas e historias. Los murales son efectivos porque están en lugares públicos, son accesibles a cualquiera y miles y miles de personas los han visto. Los murales permiten transmitir algo de esta identidad, de esta historia, a las nuevas generaciones.

Carlos Callejo,
muralista y participante del
Festival de las Culturas Populares en 1993

Invitamos a las personas a participar en la creación del mural y a darle otra dirección a la violencia entre barrios. Se promueve paz, cultura y tradición.

Alonso Encina,
muralista de La Brigada por la Paz y
participante en el Festival de las
Culturas Populares en 1993

El muralismo es una forma de pintura tradicionalmente hecha en los muros y las paredes. México es un país que tiene una larga tradición en muralismo. El muralismo mexicano tiene sus orígenes en la época precolombina (anterior a 1492) con las pinturas en templos, pirámides y palacios hechos por los toltecas, los mayas y otras sociedades indígenas. Cuando los españoles invadieron México en el siglo XVI, descubrieron los murales. Los españoles muchas veces usaron a los indígenas para pintar murales que adornaban las paredes de las iglesias con temas religiosos. A principios de la época colonial se les prohibió a los indígenas pintar sus propias tradiciones y formas de vida en los murales.

Durante el siglo XVII y XVIII el muralismo no recibió mucha atención por parte de las clases altas en México pero continúo floreciendo como arte popular. Era común ver murales en las paredes de tiendas y cantinas. En 1910 con la Revolución Mexicana, la gente ordinaria hizo uso de las paredes para expresar sus ideas políticas en lugares públicos.

El movimiento muralista mexicano comenzó en 1922 bajo el liderazgo de tres grandes muralistas — Diego

Este mural se encuentra en el muro de una casa en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.
• This mural in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, covers the side wall of a home.
Foto de/photo by David Basserman

READING MURALS

BY KARIN HAYES

Murals are an excellent way to pass on some of these traditions, some of these legends, and some of these stories. Murals are effective because they are in public places, accessible to everyone, and so they reach literally thousands upon thousands of people. And so they are a way to bring some of this identity, some of this history to the new generations.

Carlos Callejo
muralist and 1993 Festival of
American Folklife participant

We get people to participate in painting murals and to help redirect violence between barrios. They are promoting peace, culture, tradition.

Alonso Encina
muralist with La Brigada por la Paz
and 1993 Festival of American
Folklife participant

Muralism is a form of painting traditionally done on walls. Mexico has a long tradition of muralism. Mexican muralism dates back to pre-Colombian (pre-1492) times with paintings on temples, pyramids, and palaces done by the Tolteca, Mayan, and other Native American societies. When the Spanish invaded Mexico in the 16th century, they discovered these murals. The Spaniards often employed Native Americans to paint murals, adorning their church walls with religious themes. During this early colonial period, Native Americans were forbidden from painting their own traditions and lifestyles in murals.

Although muralism in Mexico did not receive much attention by the upper classes in the 17th and 18th centuries, it continued to flourish as popular art, often in signs on store fronts and bars. It was not until the Mexican Revolution began in 1910 that ordinary people seized the walls to make political statements in public places.

In the 20th century, muralism was led by three great muralists — Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco. The work of these *tres grandes* (three great ones) provided a record of Mexico's history, politics, culture, and a voice of the people. In addition, these *tres grandes* influenced muralists of the United States government-funded Federal Arts Project in the 1930s.

During the Depression of the 1930s, more than 2,500 murals in the United States were funded by the government through the Works Progress Administration, Federal Arts Project. Mural artists sponsored by the project were often among the large number of people left unemployed by the Depression. In the 1930s, murals depicted agricultural life, the history of pioneers and Native Americans in the United States, immigrants, farming, and labor. Although many American artists of the Depression wanted to include the lessons of the *tres grandes* in their work, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that a strong Chicano muralist movement occurred. Gaining a voice through the Civil Rights Act, affirmative action, and media attention to minority issues, the Chicano working class sought to address issues such as job discrimination and the prohibition against speaking Spanish in schools through murals on neighborhood walls. Carlos Callejo, a contemporary Chicano muralist who came of age in the late 1960s, explains:

> *Mural painting is more of a community art project. The*

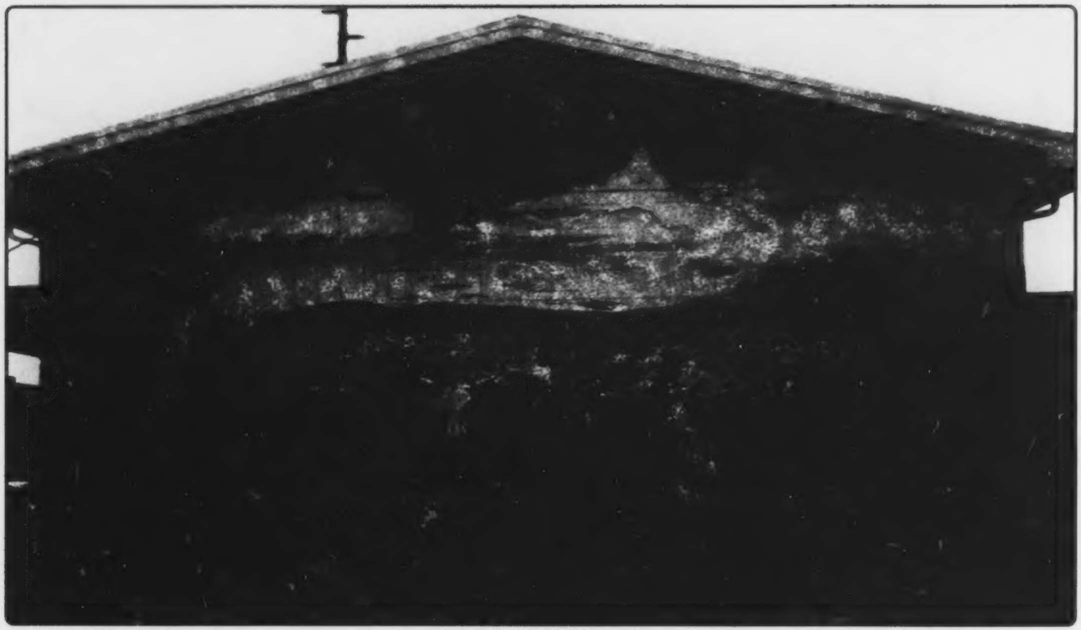
Los cholos del barrio Lupita de la Colonia Buena Vista en Tijuana, Baja California, posan enfrente de un mural. • Cholos from the barrio Lupita in the Colonia Buena Vista in Tijuana, Baja California, pose in front of a mural. *Foto de/photo by José Manuel Valenzuela Arce*

Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros y José Clemente Orozco. Las obras de estos "tres grandes," forman un archivo de la historia, política, cultura y voz popular de México. En la década de 1930 los tres muralistas mexicanos influyeron a los muralistas del Proyecto Federal de Artes auspiciado por el gobierno de Estados Unidos.

Durante la Depresión de la década de 1930, más de dos mil quinientos murales en Estados Unidos fueron financiados por el gobierno a través de la Administración del Progreso de Trabajos del Proyecto Federal de Artes. Los muralistas patrocinados por el proyecto muchas veces formaban parte del gran número de gente desempleada, hambrienta y desamparada. En la década de 1930 los murales representaban la vida en el campo, la historia de los pioneros y de los indígenas en Estados Unidos, los inmigrantes, la agricultura y el trabajo. A pesar de que muchos artistas estadounidenses de la Depresión querían incluir las lecciones de los tres grandes en su trabajo no fue sino hasta la década de 1960 y de 1970 cuando surgió un fuerte muralismo chicano. Gracias al Decreto de Derechos Civiles a la acción afirmativa y la atención que prestaron los medios de comunicación a las minorías, la clase trabajadora chicana pudo expresar en los murales pintados en los muros de los barrios temas como la discriminación en el trabajo y la prohibición de hablar español en las escuelas. Carlos Callejo, un muralista chicano contemporáneo que alcanzó su madurez en la década de 1960 explica:

> *Los murales son un proyecto de arte comunitario y el artista es sólo una herramienta que ayuda a expresar las luchas, las aspiraciones y las necesidades de esa comunidad.*

Los artistas del Movimiento Mural Chicano eran pintores de letreros que aprendieron su oficio por sí mismos, pintores de casas, estudiantes de arte y artistas de graffiti. Pese a que los artistas tenían experiencias sociales diferentes usaron los murales como una afirmación positiva de su herencia mexicana. Estos artistas usaron los murales para involucrar a la comunidad, sacaron el arte de los museos para ponerla en la vida cotidiana de las



"El Chuco y Que" mural by Carlos Callejo, El Paso, Texas. • Mural "El Chuco y Que" de Carlos Callejo, El Paso, Texas.
Photo by/foto de Michael Stone

> *artist basically becomes a tool to portray the struggles, the aspirations, the needs of that particular community.*

Artists of the Chicano mural movement were often self-taught sign painters, house painters, college art students, and graffiti artists. Although these artists had different backgrounds, they used murals as positive affirmations of their Mexican heritage. The artists used murals to involve the community, moving art outside of museums and into the daily lives of people. Under the direction of an artist, community members often designed and painted murals themselves.

Chicano artists paint murals for many different reasons, many of which come from within the community itself. In El Paso, Texas, muralists have chosen topics that reflect problems in their community — homelessness, AIDS, drugs, gang violence, illiteracy — as well as pride in family, community, and cultural heritage. Since the 1960s and 1970s, in El Paso as well as in Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities across the United States, many artists in Latino neighborhoods have expressed their hopes, dreams, and fears through murals.

Murals affect people on different levels, from the passer-by who watches the painting evolve, to the community member who participates in the planning and painting, to neighbors and outsiders who live in or visit the community. As a public form of art and communication, murals express cultural heritage and identity, and pride in the community. Murals are powerful tools to teach onlookers about history and legends, and to create an awareness of social and political problems.

For additional reading, consult the bibliography in the Appendix.

personas. Muchas veces, bajo la dirección de un artista, los miembros de la comunidad di-señaron y pintaron los murales.

Los artistas chicanos pintan murales por diferentes razones, muchas de las cuales vienen de la comunidad. En El Paso, Texas, los muralistas han escogido temas que reflejan los problemas de su comunidad: los desamparados, el SIDA, las drogas, la violencia en las pandillas, el analfabetismo y también el orgullo familiar y la herencia comunitaria y cultural. Desde las décadas de 1960 y 1970, lo mismo en El Paso que en Los Angeles, Chicago y otras ciudades en Estados Unidos, muchos artistas en los barrios latinos expresan sus esperanzas, sueños y temores a través de los murales.

Los murales afectan a las personas en niveles diferentes: desde el pasajero que mira el desarrollo del mural, hasta los miembros de la comunidad que participan en su creación, y los vecinos y visitantes de la comunidad. Como formas públicas de arte y comunicación, los murales expresan la herencia cultural, la identidad y el orgullo de la comunidad. Los murales son una herramienta efectiva para enseñar a los espectadores la historia y la leyenda y para crear una conciencia sobre los problemas políticos y sociales.

Para lecturas complementarias consulta la Bibliografía en el Apéndice.

PREGUNTAS

1. ¿Por qué es importante encontrar una manera de expresar los valores culturales y de identidad? ¿De qué manera un mural te puede ayudar a relatar la historia de tu comunidad?

2. Si pintaras un mural sobre tu identidad ¿qué imágenes usarías?

EJERCICIOS

1. Diseña un mural con tu clase.
   - Elijan un tema general: lugares en el pueblo, la ciudad; la vida como adolescentes; el medio ambiente; un evento histórico; asuntos de la comunidad, etc.
   - Seleccionen las imágenes que van a usar para representar el tema.
   - Tracen la idea en papel y transfieran el trazo a un papel del tamaño de una pared.
   - Pinten el mural. Asegúrense que toda la clase participe en el proyecto; recuerden que este es una obra de toda la clase.

2. Después de hacer un mural con tu grupo, crea un mural más pequeño sobre ti mismo(a). Usa las imágenes que pensaste para contestar la pregunta dos.

3. Busca un mural en tu comunidad. ¿Qué es lo que el mural representa? ¿Quién lo pintó? Si te es posible ponte en contacto con el muralista y pídele una entrevista. ¿Por qué eligió el artista ese tema?

The Virgin of Guadalupe is a favorite image in murals, like this one in a neighborhood in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. ● *La Virgen de Guadalupe es una imagen popular para murales como éste en un barrio de Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.* Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval

QUESTIONS

1. Why is it important to find ways to express identity and cultural values? How can a mural help you tell a story about your community?

2. If you were to paint a mural about your own identity, what images would you use?

EXERCISES

1. Create a mural as a class.
    - Decide on a general theme: sites in your town, city; life as a teenager; the environment; an historical event; community issues, etc.
    - Choose images to represent that theme.
    - Sketch the idea on paper, and then transfer it to large butcher paper (the size of the mural).
    - Paint the mural. Make sure all class members are involved in some way; this is a group effort.

2. After creating a mural with your class, plan a smaller mural about yourself. Use the images you thought about for question 2.

3. Find a mural in your community. What does the mural represent? Who painted the mural? If possible, contact the muralist and ask if you can interview him/her. Why did the muralist select the themes he/she chose?

Sumario de la Parte 3

ARTE POPULAR *e* IDENTIDAD

Ideas expuestas en esta sección:

- Las personas pueden expresarse a sí mismas en diferentes maneras a través del arte popular.
- El arte puede expresar problemas sociales y asuntos políticos.
- El arte se puede usar para muchos propósitos, incluso para prevenir que las personas se unan a pandillas.

¿Qué Viene a Continuación?

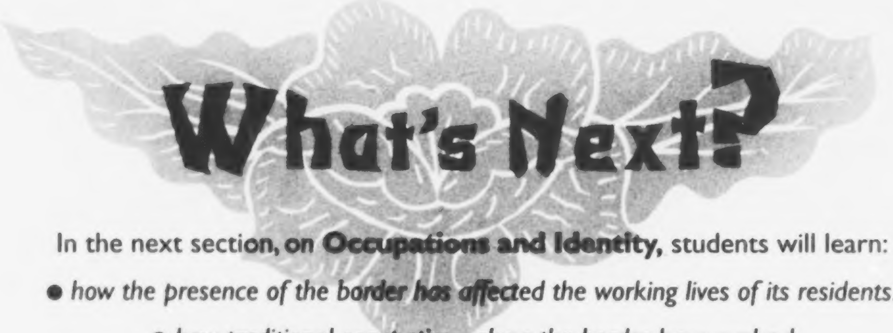
En la siguiente sección, **Trabajo e Identidad,** los estudiantes aprenderán:

- *de qué manera la presencia de la frontera ha afectado la vida laboral de sus residentes.*
- *cómo las ocupaciones a lo largo de la frontera han cambiado a lo largo de los años para responder a la nueva situación.*

Summary of Part 3
EXPRESSIVE TRADITIONS *and* IDENTITY

Ideas in this section:

- People can express themselves in many different ways through traditional arts.
- Art can point out social problems and political issues.
- Art can be used for many purposes, even to prevent people from joining gangs.



What's Next?

In the next section, on **Occupations and Identity,** students will learn:

- *how the presence of the border has affected the working lives of its residents.*
- *how traditional occupations along the border have evolved over the years to accommodate new situations.*

Part 4:

OCCUPATIONS AND IDENTITY

Parte 4:

TRABAJO E IDENTIDAD

INTRODUCCIÓN *para el* MAESTRO

A lo largo de la frontera, la geografía y la historia, al igual que las condiciones sociales y políticas, han afectado el tipo de trabajo y lugar donde las personas llevan a cabo sus actividades. En algunos casos, el hecho de que haya una frontera ha creado unas ocupaciones. De un extremo al otro de la frontera, las ocupaciones laborales recorren una amplia gama desde vaquero hasta vendedor de artesanías, desde agente de la patrulla fronteriza hasta trabajador de maquiladora. Las diferentes formas en que las personas se ganan la vida constituyen una parte importante de su identidad.

En la Parte 4 del video, los estudiantes van a conocer las historias y experiencias de la gente que trabaja en diferentes ocupaciones a lo largo de la frontera. Los vaqueros en la región del río Bravo hablan sobre los cambios en su trabajo a través de los años; un agente de la patrulla fronteriza y un herrero explican cómo haber vivido entre ganaderos los ayuda a llevar a cabo su trabajo actual; se examina la industria de la maquiladora y unas mujeres mixtecas de Tijuana explican de qué manera el turismo crea oportunidades que ellas aprovechan como vendedoras de curiosidades.

Los ejercicios en esta sección incluyen un examen de cómo el turismo afecta la frontera. Otro ejercicio considera las ocupaciones, como la herrería, que reciclan materiales. Un ejercicio más invita a los estudiantes a examinar las ocupaciones importantes en su comunidad. Los estudiantes leen sobre trabajadores en las fábricas maquiladoras en la región fronteriza.

La selección del artículo del *American Cowboy* ofrece un ejemplo de la relación entre dos oficios — la patrulla fronteriza y la ganadería. El artículo también ofrece a los estudiantes una oportunidad para examinar críticamente las situaciones y las actitudes que la frontera crea. El artículo hace una analogía entre las habilidades necesarias para seguir las huellas del ganado extraviado y las que se usan para perseguir personas que han cruzado la frontera sin documentos. Otra analogía que hace el artículo es entre "el ganado extraviado y enfermo" y

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

Along the border, geography and history, as well as political and social conditions, have affected where and how people work. In some cases, jobs have been created because of the border. Occupations along the border range from cowboy to craft vendor, from Border Patrol agent to factory worker. The different ways people make a living are often important identity markers.

In Part 4 of the video, students will learn from the stories and experiences of people working in many different occupations along the border. Cowboys in the Rio Grande region talk about the changes in their work over the years; a Border Patrol agent and a blacksmith tell how growing up among ranchers helps them in their present jobs. The *maquiladora* industry is examined briefly. Mixteco women from Tijuana explain how tourism has created opportunities that they have taken advantage of as souvenir vendors.

One exercise examines how tourism affects the border. Another exercise considers occupations like blacksmithing, which use recycled materials. A third encourages students to think about the occupations that are important in their own communities. Students read about factory workers in the *maquiladora* industry of the border region.

The excerpted article from *American Cowboy* provides an example of the relationship between two occupations — the Border Patrol and ranching. The article also offers students an opportunity to examine critically the predicaments and attitudes that a border creates. The article uses analogies between skills required to track cattle if they leave a pasture and those for tracking a person traveling across the border. In the article, "potentially diseased, stray livestock" are compared to "drug smugglers and illegal aliens." However, the analogies raise questions about comparing people with disease-carrying animals, a practice that may lead

"contrabandistas e inmigrantes indocumentados". Estas analogías ilustran la relación entre las habilidades que se requieren en cada trabajo, pero son problemáticas en cuanto a la comparación de personas con animales nocivos y que podrían llevar a justificar el abuso de derechos humanos. Se les pide a los estudiantes que también cuestionen el mito del "Viejo Oeste" (the Old West) como una región vacía y salvaje en espera de ser poblada por pioneros, siendo que en realidad era un territorio habitado desde mucho tiempo por indígenas y luego por mexicanos antes que los colonos de Estados Unidos llegaran. (Para mayor información sobre este tema, consulte *Legacy of Conquest* de Patricia N. Limerick y *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own* de Richard White, citados en la Bibliografía.

Ejercicios recomendados en esta sección:

Turismo: Para discutir con sus estudiantes cómo la industria turística atrae visitantes, consiga folletos que describan sitios de interés turístico.

Profesiones en la comunidad: Envíe a sus estudiantes a diferentes lugares de trabajo donde puedan entrevistar a las personas que realizan esos trabajos.

Explore los alrededores: Identifique varios ejemplos de recursos que se reutilizan en su comunidad, como por ejemplo edificios históricos que han sido renovados o convertidos en oficinas, centros culturales o cívicos, o locales comerciales, o bien talleres en los que se compongan aparatos o muebles para que puedan volver a ser usados. Identifique los usos que se dan en su comunidad a la chatarra y las llantas cuando se les recicla o reutiliza.

Si vive cerca de una frontera internacional, haga arreglos para invitar a un agente de la patrulla fronteriza a visitar su clase.

Al finalizar esta sección los estudiantes sabrán:

- *De qué manera las ocupaciones son específicas a una región geográfica o histórica, o a condiciones políticas o sociales.*
- *Cómo las ocupaciones a lo largo de la frontera han cambiado pero aún conservan ciertas características.*

to rationalizing human rights abuses and infringements. Students are also asked to think about the romanticized notion of the "Old West," which is seen as an empty wilderness waiting to be settled by pioneers, but in reality was a territory inhabited by indigenous people and later by Mexicans, before Anglo settlers came from the United States. (For more information on this subject, consult the *Legacy of Conquest* by Patricia N. Limerick and *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own* by Richard White, cited in the Bibliography.)

Suggestions to prepare for exercises in this section:

Tourism: Obtain brochures from a tourist agency depicting places to visit to give students ideas about techniques to attract tourists.

Professions in the Community: Brainstorm with students about different occupations so that the class covers a broad range of occupations.

Using What's Around: Identify several examples of the reuse of materials in your community, for example, historic factory buildings remodeled into condominiums or a shopping area; a recycling plant; scrap metal sculptures; rubber tire planters in yards.

If you live near an international border, try to arrange a visit to your classroom by a Border Patrol agent or former agent.

By the end of this section, students will learn:

- *how occupations can be specific to a region geographically, historically, or through political or social circumstances.*
- *how traditional occupations along the border have evolved over time, while certain of their characteristics remain the same.*

Discusión de la cita

Lee las siguientes citas y después discute las preguntas que se plantean a continuación:

> *Cuando un aspecto de la tradición no se acomoda a las condiciones actuales tienes que hacer algunos cambios para mantener viva la tradición. Por ejemplo, ya no hay zapateros que cosan las botas a mano. La máquina de coser es importante para preservar la tradición.*
>
> Pat Jasper, folklorista, Austin, Texas

Un zapatero cose el cuero en la tienda Mingo's Boots en El Paso, Texas. • A worker stitches leather at Mingo's Boots in El Paso, Texas. Foto de/photo by Michael Stone

¿A qué se refiere Pat Jasper cuando dice que algo "no se acomoda a las condiciones actuales"? ¿Cuáles son algunas de las fuerzas que causan impacto en las tradiciones actuales?

Da un ejemplo sobre un tipo de ocupación que ha adoptado nuevos métodos para permanecer viva y productiva.

Proyección del video

Observa la Parte 4, **Trabajo e identidad,** del video y discute lo siguiente:

- ¿Por cuántos años ha existido la ganadería en la frontera? ¿De qué manera la ganadería ha influido en otras ocupaciones como la herrería y la patrulla fronteriza?
- ¿Qué tipo de ocupaciones se han establecido debido a la creación de la frontera internacional?

Discussion Quotation

Read the following quotation, and discuss the questions that follow:

> *When some aspect of the tradition doesn't hold up with what else is going on, then you make changes to keep the tradition alive. For example, there is not a boot maker in Texas, on the border or elsewhere, who still stitches by hand. The machine is an important part of carrying on the tradition.*
>
> Pat Jasper, folklorist, Austin, Texas

What does Pat Jasper mean by "what else is going on"? What are some of the forces that impact on traditions today?

Think of an example of an occupation in which the workers have adapted new methods to stay alive and productive.

Video Viewing

Watch **Occupations and Identity,** Part 4 of the video. Discuss the following:

- How long has ranching existed on the border?
- How has ranching influenced other occupations on the border, like blacksmithing and the Border Patrol?
- What kinds of occupations have been established due to the creation of the international border?

EJERCICIOS

1. UN VISTAZO A LAS OCUPACIONES

- Haz una lista de las ocupaciones de las que se habla en el video. Debajo de cada ocupación enumera las condiciones que hacen esta ocupación atractiva o difícil. ¿De qué manera la geografía o el turismo afecta cada ocupación?
- ¿Crees que Reynaldo Hernández se considera primero un agente de la patrulla fronteriza o un vaquero? Considera a otras personas que conoces y sus ocupaciones. ¿De qué manera la ocupación de una persona puede caracterizar su identidad?

2. TURISMO: OCUPACIONES Y ECONOMÍA

La frontera atrae turistas que gastan dinero y crean trabajos. Haz una lista de algunas de las cosas que los turistas hacen cuando visitan un lugar nuevo. ¿Qué tipo de ocupaciones atienden esas necesidades e intereses? ¿Conoces a alguien que trabaje en ese tipo de ocupaciones?

- Doña Ofelia y otras vendedoras mixtecas venden artesanías y curiosidades a los turistas en Tijuana. Ellas han formado un sindicato. ¿Qué es un sindicato y cómo ayuda a los trabajadores? ¿Por

Márgara de León admira las artesanías de Ofelia Santos López, una vendedora mixteca de Tijuana, México. • Márgara de León admires the goods of Ofelia Santos López, a Mixteca vendor from Tijuana, Mexico. Foto de/photo by Olivia Cadaval

EXERCISES

1. LOOKING AT OCCUPATIONS

- Make a list of the occupations portrayed in the video. Under each occupation, list what conditions make this occupation attractive, or what makes it difficult. How does geography affect each occupation? How does tourism?
- Do you think Reynaldo Hernández thinks of himself first as a Border Patrol agent, or first as a rancher? Think about other people you know and their occupations. How can occupation characterize identity?

2. TOURISM: OCCUPATIONS AND ECONOMY

The border draws tourists, and tourists spend money, creating jobs. Make a list of some of the things tourists do when they are visiting a new place. What types of occupations respond to these needs and interests? Do you know anyone working in any of these occupations?

- Doña Ofelia and her fellow Mixteco vendors sell crafts and souvenirs to tourists in Tijuana. They have formed a union. What is a union, and what can it do to help workers? Why do you think the Mixteco women decided to form one? **Clue:** Read about unions at your school or local library. Consult the Bibliography in the Appendix.
- Doña Ofelia's years of experience as a vendor have paid off. Olivia Cadaval, a folklorist, describes Doña Ofelia as a "master in knowing her clientele and the different venues in which she sells." A basket may sell for $10 in Tijuana, but at the Festival in Washington on the National Mall, Doña Ofelia priced the same basket at $20. Why did she do this?
- Imagine you are a tourist buying something from Doña Ofelia. You speak no Spanish. Doña Ofelia knows very little English. Negotiate a price for a doll or a basket. Create a short skit using this scenario.

3. INTERVIEW: PROFESSIONS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

- Choose a profession that interests you, perhaps one you are considering as a career. Locate someone who is currently working in this profession, and interview him/her. How is his/her occupation related to the region the person lives in? Has the person's occupation been affected by changes in materials and

qué crees que las mujeres mixtecas decidieron formar uno? **Pista:** Lee algo sobre sindicatos en la biblioteca de la escuela o en la biblioteca local. Consulta la Bibliografía en el Apéndice.

- Los años de experiencia como vendedora han recompensado a doña Ofelia. Olivia Cadaval, una folklorista, describe a doña Ofelia como alguien "que conoce a su clientela y los diferentes lugares en que vende." En Tijuana puede vender una canasta en $10 dólares pero en el Festival de las Culturas Populares la cotizó a $20 dólares. ¿Por qué hizo esto?
- Imagina que eres un turista que está tratando de comprar algo de doña Ofelia. No hablas nada de español y doña Ofelia sabe muy poco inglés. Trata de negociar un precio por una canasta o una muñeca. Haz una breve representación teatral de esta situación.

3. ENTREVISTA: PROFESIONES EN TU COMUNIDAD

- Elige una profesión que te interese, tal vez la que estás considerando como tu carrera. Busca a alguien que esté trabajando en esa profesión y entrevístale. ¿De qué manera su profesión está ligada a la región donde vive? ¿Ha sido afectada su profesión por los cambios en materiales o tecnologías? ¿Cómo se ha adaptado a los nuevos métodos para permanecer activa?

4. USA LO QUE HAY A TU ALREDEDOR

En el video, Armando Flores, un herrero de Laredo, Texas, dice cuáles son los materiales que usa para crear diseños tradicionales y contemporáneos de trabajos en metal. Armando usa estacas de hierro, sobras de metales, cualquier cosa que encuentra. En el mapa cultural estudia otros ejemplos de reciclaje a lo largo de la frontera. ¿Puedes dar un ejemplo de cómo se re-usan materiales en tu familia o en tu barrio? Escribe un artículo breve sobre la importancia de re-usar materiales. Usa los ejemplos del mapa cultural o de tu propia experiencia.

technologies? How has the person adapted to new methods to stay in business?

4. USING WHAT'S AROUND

In the video, Armando Flores, a blacksmith from Laredo, Texas, discusses the materials he finds to create traditional and contemporary metal work. Armando uses railroad spikes, scrap metal, anything he can find.

- Study the other examples of recycling along the border on the cultural map. Can you think of an example of the reuse of materials in your own family or neighborhood?
- Write a short essay about the importance of reusing materials, using the examples in the cultural map or from your own experience.

Armando Flores, from Laredo, Texas, demonstrates his blacksmithing skills at the Festival in Washington. ● *Armando Flores de Laredo, Texas, demuestra sus habilidades de herrero en el Festival en Washington.* Photo by/foto de Burt Miller, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

This table shows the range of items Armando Flores makes. ● *Esta es una muestra de las diferentes cosas que Armando Flores hace.* Photo by/foto de Rick Vargas, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

LECTURA

INDUSTRIA: MANO DE TRABAJO BARATA Y MAQUILADORAS

DE OLIVIA CADAVAL

El gobierno mexicano inició el Programa de Desarrollo Económico en la Frontera en 1961 con la idea de desarrollar la industria y de crear trabajos en la región norte del país. A este programa le sucedió el Programa de Industrialización en 1965 que ofreció concesiones especiales respecto a impuestos, aranceles y varias formas de reglamentos a grandes compañías con la condición de que establecieran plantas de ensamblaje en México. Compañías de Estados Unidos como General Electric, RCA y Kenworth han construido plantas de ensamblaje llamadas maquiladoras a lo largo de la frontera mexicana y emplean a trabajadores mexicanos. Japón y Canadá también participan en este programa y han establecido plantas de ensamblaje en la región de la frontera.

Las maquiladoras han industrializado la frontera y han creado miles de trabajos. Esto ha atraído migración de otras regiones de México a la frontera. Las plantas también han aumentado la contaminación en la región y esto ha causado varios litigios e investigaciones sobre el medio ambiente.

La mayoría de los trabajadores de maquiladora son mujeres. El trabajo es fastidioso y aburrido. Los trabajadores son responsables de componentes individuales y casi nunca ven el producto final. Sin embargo, la amistad que nace en esos lugares de trabajo y los incentivos ofrecidos por las compañías, contribuyen a la cultura de trabajo en las maquiladoras y a una vida social para los trabajadores.

La mayoría de las maquiladoras organizan actividades y competencias que aumentan el interés y el entusiasmo de los trabajadores. Algunas de estas actividades son juegos deportivos y concursos para elegir reinas y reyes. Los trabajadores pasan gran parte de su tiempo libre en las instalaciones recreativas de la planta y allí se pueden reunir con sus amigos y traer a sus familias a los eventos que la compañía organiza. Norma Iglesias, una socióloga que ha hecho investigación entre los trabajadores de las fábricas dice que para muchos trabajadores ésta es la única vida social que tienen.

Muchos trabajadores buscan las "buenas" compañías que son las que ofrecen mejores condiciones de trabajo, mejores horarios y mejores beneficios de transporte. Los trabajadores también buscan aquellas compañías que ofrecen playeras, gorras y otras prendas de vestir como incentivos. Muchos trabajadores tienen amigos o parientes en otras plantas y las relaciones entre trabajadores ayudan a los nuevos empleados a elegir la mejor planta.

He aquí algunas de las historias contadas por trabajadores de maquiladoras y recopiladas por la socióloga María Eugenia de la O, investigadora de El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.

READING

INDUSTRY: CHEAP LABOR AND ASSEMBLY PLANTS

BY OLIVIA CADAVAL

The Mexican government initiated the National Border Economic Development Program in 1961 in an effort to develop industry and create jobs in the northern border region of the country. This program was followed by the Industrialization Program in 1965, which granted large companies special dispensations in taxes, tariffs, and various forms of regulation when they established assembly plants in Mexico. Along the Mexican side of the border, American-based companies like General Electric, RCA, and Kenworth have built assembly plants, called *maquiladoras*, which employ Mexican workers. Other countries, including Japan and Canada, have also taken advantage of the Industrialization Program to establish assembly plants in this border region.

A maquiladora employee works on parts at an assembly plant in Ciudad Juárez. • Una trabajadora en una maquiladora en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, ensambla piezas. Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval

The *maquiladoras* have industrialized the border and created thousands of jobs, which have spurred migration from other regions of Mexico. These plants have also increased the pollution of the region, which has led to legal disputes and environmental investigations.

The majority of *maquiladora* workers are women. Most of the work is tedious and boring. Workers are responsible for individual components and rarely see the final product. Nevertheless, the friendships that develop and the enticements offered by the companies contribute to the work culture found in the border *maquiladoras* and to the social life that the work creates.

Most *maquiladoras* organize activities and competitive events to boost the interest and enthusiasm of their workers. These include sports and pageants with elected queens and kings. Workers spend a large part of their free time in the plant's recreational facilities, where they can meet their friends and bring their family to events organized by the company. Norma Iglesias, a sociologist who has done research among factory workers, finds that this may be the only social life available to many workers.

Many workers seek out "good" companies with better working conditions, easier schedules, and better transportation benefits. In addition, many workers may also look for *maquiladoras* that offer T-shirts, caps, and other clothing items as incentives. Many workers have friends or relatives in other plants, and networks among the workers help new employees to select the best plant.

Here are some stories told by workers in *maquiladoras*, recorded by sociologist María

- *...O sea por la misma señora que te digo que me recomendó era vecina de donde yo vivía allá con una tía en Otay y cuando llego pues, le dije a mi tía que quería trabajar entonces mi tía me dijo que ella conocía una señora que trabajaba en una maquila y que posiblemente pudiera haber trabajo, y entonces le hablamos a esa señora y dijo que sí había trabajo pero en el turno de la noche o sea de 5 a 2 de la mañana y fue por eso que me di cuenta que había trabajo ahí.*
- *Tengo que tomar dos camiones, en realidad cuatro — dos de ida y dos de venida... Tenemos que llegar a las seis de la mañana así que hay que levantarse muy temprano... El trabajo es muy pesado, muy sucio. Se trabaja con fierros y todo el tiempo se anda uno sacudiendo, sale uno con migajitas de aluminio...*
- *Cuando logramos buena producción o buenos porcentajes de rechazos, quizá 100 por ciento o sólo 70 por ciento, vamos [a comer a Tenampa] con el supervisor, el jefe del grupo de trabajo y todos los operadores... Nos dicen que éste es nuestro sitio pero no lo creo, por ejemplo, la persona que nos emplea nos dice que somos pura basura y que por eso estamos aquí. Les hemos dicho esto a nuestros jefes pero no han hecho nada al respecto.*
- *No es que no hubiera otros trabajos — es donde uno viene a parar, el último lugar al que vas a dar. Si no consigues algo en un lugar... vas a la maquiladora... Siempre dije que nunca iba a trabajar en una maquila, pero aquí me tienen.*

PREGUNTAS

1. ¿Cuáles son algunas de las razones por las que las maquiladoras se desarrollaron en la región de la frontera?

2. ¿Cuáles son algunos de los beneficios de trabajar en una maquiladora? ¿Cuáles son las desventajas?

3. ¿Por qué las maquiladoras patrocinan eventos sociales para sus trabajadores? ¿Qué beneficios trae esta actividad a la fábrica?

4. ¿Qué significa "la cultura del trabajo"?

EJERCICIOS

1. Representación sobre una maquiladora

De acuerdo a lo que has leído haz una pequeña representación teatral sobre la experiencia de trabajar en una maquiladora. Algunas ideas para la trama son:

- una discusión entre un trabajador y su jefe
- una reunión en la que un viejo empleado de una maquiladora le da información a un nuevo empleado
- una trabajadora de maquiladora le explica su trabajo a sus hijos

2. Entrevista sobre la ocupación

Entrevista a alguien que trabaje fuera de la casa. Investiga cómo su trabajo afecta su vida fuera del trabajo, por ejemplo, una trabajadora de una fábrica puede también ser una campeona de boliche o una líder de un club juvenil. ¿Qué le gusta a esta persona sobre la vida en el trabajo y sobre otras partes de su vida? ¿Cómo se intersectan estas partes? **Pista:** ¿Se ve con sus amigos del trabajo fuera de éste? ¿La compañía donde trabaja patrocina sus actividades sociales o deportivas? ¿Quién cuida a los niños mientras los padres trabajan? Escribe una breve descripción de la persona y de las diferentes esferas de su vida. Explica cómo estas esferas se intersectan en su vida. Ilustra tu descripción con una gráfica en la que muestres cómo el trabajo, la casa y la vida social están relacionadas, si es que esta relación existe.

Eugenia de la O, researcher at El Colegio de la Frontera Norte:

- *The woman who recommended me was a neighbor when I lived with my aunt in Otay. When I arrived, I told my aunt that I wanted to work. She said she knew somebody that worked at a* maquila *and that there might be a possibility of working there. So then we talked to that woman and she said that there were jobs but only at night, from 5 p.m. to 2 in the morning. That's how I knew that there was work there.*
- *I have to take two buses, really four — two going and two coming.... We have to be there at six so I have to get up very early.... The work is very hard, very dirty. You work with metals, and all the time you are shaking off shavings and picking out splinters....*
- *When we achieve good production or rejection ratios, perhaps 100 percent or even only 70 percent, we go [to eat in Tenampa] with the supervisor, the boss of the work group, and all the operators.... They tell us that this is our place, but I don't think so. For example, there is this person that hires us. He tells us that we are pure garbage, and that is why we are here. We have told this to the bosses, but they do nothing.*
- *It's not that there was no other work — it's where one ends up, the last place you go. If you don't get something in one place... this leaves going to a* maquila*.... I always said, I am never going to work in a* maquila*, but yet here I am.*

QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the reasons why *maquiladoras* developed in the border region?
2. What are some of the benefits of working in a *maquiladora*? The disadvantages?
3. Why might a *maquiladora* sponsor social events for its workers? What benefits might this practice bring to the factory?
4. What do you think "work culture" means?

EXERCISES

1. *Maquila* Skit

Create a skit about working in a *maquiladora* factory, based on what you have read. Possible plot ideas include:

- a discussion between a worker and her boss
- a new employee gaining tips from a long-time *maquiladora* worker
- a *maquila* worker explaining her work to one of her children.

2. Occupational Interview

Interview someone who works outside his/her home. Find out how this person's work affects his/her life outside of work. For instance, a factory worker could also be a mother, a champion bowler, and a Girl Scout leader. What does the person like about work life versus the other parts of his/her life? Where do the different parts of his/her life intersect? **Clue:** Are work friends also social acquaintances? Are social and sport events sponsored by the factory? Who takes care of children while the parents work? Write a short profile of the person and the different spheres of his/her life. Explain how the different spheres intersect in the person's life. Illustrate the profile with a graphic to show how work, home, and social life are related, if at all.

LECTURA

PATRULLANDO LA FRONTERA INTERNACIONAL

DE MICHAEL D. CARMAN

El siguiente extracto se seleccionó del artículo "Patrullando la frontera internacional" de Michael D. Carman, publicado por la revista American Cowboy. *Michael D. Carman es el director de la División de Museo del Departamento de Biblioteca, Archivos y Registros Públicos de Arizona. Su padre, Herbert C. "Happy" Carman, fue un agente de la patrulla fronteriza. Angela Howell contribuyó en este artículo.*

Este artículo ofrece una visión de cómo algunos agentes de la patrulla fronteriza estadounidense en la frontera de Arizona con México emplean habilidades tradicionales. Es importante recordar que los agentes de la patrulla fronteriza contemporáneos también están capacitados con otras habilidades, por ejemplo en el uso de equipo sofisticado para-militar como los helicopteros y los instrumentos para ver de noche. El artículo también suscita cuestionamientos sobre el racismo y las actitudes hacia la gente que trata de cruzar la frontera ilegalmente. Algunos son contrabandistas, pero muchos no. La mayoría son atraídos por mejores oportunidades del otro lado de la frontera, como otros inmigrantes que en el pasado inmigraron a Estados Unidos. Estas personas van en busca de trabajo a Estados Unidos para poder sostener económicamente sus familias en México. Contribuyen a la economía y al gobierno estadounidense con los impuestos descontados de sus sueldos y con su trabajo.

Lee el artículo con cuidado, prestando particular atención al lenguaje que usa el autor. Recuerda que se trata sólo de un punto de vista. Piensa en lo siguiente mientras lees:

- *¿Cómo sería el artículo si se escribiera del punto de vista de la persona que cruza la frontera?*
- *Piensa cómo el establecimiento de la frontera ha requerido que alguna gente desarrolle habilidades específicas. ¿Se necesitarían agentes de la patrulla fronteriza si los dos países permitieran a la gente cruzar libremente? Si no existiera la frontera, ¿de que otra forma podrían usar sus habilidades?*

El Congreso de Estados Unidos creó la Patrulla Fronteriza en 1924, como una agencia de la oficina de Inmigración del Departamento de Justicia. Muchos vaqueros que aprendieron a cazar y a seguir huellas a lo largo de la frontera con México y que sabían español fueron reclutados por la agencia.

Steve McDonald, jefe de la Patrulla Fronteriza de Tucson, Arizona dice que los requisitos especiales que este trabajo exige le dan a la institución una historia única. "Los primeros agentes de la patrulla fronteriza eran vaqueros, hombres que habían sido soldados de caballería, alguaciles e incluso algunos pistoleros," dice McDonald. "La Patrulla comenzó con la tradición de los vaqueros y aún ahora hay mucha gente en ella que tiene experiencia como vaquero."

[Reynaldo] Hernández es uno de esos agentes. Nació y creció en el sur de Texas, donde estuvo rodeado de caballos en el rancho de su padre. Hernández dice que su herencia como vaquero lo ha ayudado de muchas maneras en su trabajo como agente de la frontera. Gracias a su experiencia con los caballos puede reconocer si las pisadas de un caballo fueron hechas por un caballo de Estados Unidos o uno de México. La forma en que se ponen las herraduras a los caballos en México es diferente como se les ponen

READING

RIDING THE INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER

BY MICHAEL D. CARMAN

The following excerpts are from the article "Riding the International Frontier" by Michael D. Carman, published in the magazine American Cowboy *and reproduced with permission. Michael D. Carman is the Division Director for the Museum Division of the Arizona Department of Library, Archives and Public Records. His father, the late Herbert C. "Hoppy" Carman, was a Border Patrol agent. Angela Howell contributed to this article.*

The article offers a view of how some of the U.S Border Patrol agents on the Arizona border with Mexico use traditional border skills. It is important to remember that contemporary border agents also are trained to use other skills, such as helicopters, night vision devices, and other sophisticated para-military equipment. The article also raises questions about racism and attitudes toward people who try to cross the border illegally. Some of these people are smugglers, but most are not. The great majority are simply attracted by better opportunities across the border, like many of the immigrants who in the past came to the United States. These people seek work in the United States to make enough money to send to their families back home. Their work contributes to the U.S. economy by the taxes they pay and the labor they perform.

Read the article carefully, with particular attention to the language of the author. Remember this reading represents only one point of view. Think about the following things as you read:

- *What would the story be like if it were written from the point of view of people who cross the border?*
- *Think how the establishment of a border required some people to develop specific skills. Would Border Patrol agents be necessary if the two countries allowed people to cross freely? If the border did not exist, could agents use their skills elsewhere?*

The U.S. Congress created the Border Patrol in 1924 as an agency of the Bureau of Immigration in the Department of Justice. Many former cowboys who learned to hunt and track along the Mexican border and who knew how to speak Spanish were actively recruited.

Steve McDonald, senior Border Patrol agent from Tucson, Arizona, says the unique job requirements led to the Patrol's rich history. "The first Border Patrol agents were cowboys, old cavalrymen, town marshals, even some gunslingers," says McDonald. "It started out with a cowboy tradition and there are still people on the Border Patrol who have experience as cowboys."

[Reynaldo] Hernández is one such agent. He was born and raised in South Texas, where he was surrounded by horses on his father's ranch. Hernández says his cowboy heritage helps him in many ways in his job as a Border agent. Through his experience with horses, he can tell immediately if horseshoe tracks were left by an American or a Mexican horse. Horses are shod differently in Mexico, Hernández says, and Mexican horses are smaller. He knows how far a horse can travel in a day or in an hour, an insight which he uses to lay strategy. For example, he'll gauge the progress of some traffickers and confront them at a spot where there is no exit nor escape route. Most smugglers will size up the situation

en Estados Unidos. También los caballos de México son más pequeños. Hernández sabe qué lejos puede llegar un caballo en un día o en una hora y esto le permite planear una estrategia. Por ejemplo, puede calcular el camino de unos traficantes y enfrentarlos en un lugar que no tiene salida ni ruta de escape. La mayoría de los contrabandistas pronto se dan cuenta de la situación y se rinden, pero no todos lo hacen.

Reynaldo Hernández desarrollo su apreciación por la música desde pequeño en el sur de Texas. ● In South Texas, Reynaldo Hernández learned to appreciate music at a young age. *Foto cortesía/photo courtesy Reynaldo Hernández*

"A veces hay confrontaciones cuando no se rinden," dice Hernández. "Tiran su contrabando y siguen a caballo. He visto a algunos contrabandistas atravesar a caballo los cercos de alambre de púas. Los he visto saltar precipicios." Sufre el caballo, dice Hernández, pero para un traficante que enfrenta 10 años de prisión, el caballo es lo de menos. No siempre es posible atrapar a los contrabandistas a caballo, dice Hernández. "Los contrabandistas son buenos vaqueros y montan bien a caballo. Nunca menosprecio sus habilidades."

Algunos de los encuentros de la patrulla fronteriza son con contrabandistas u otros criminales pero la mayoría son con inmigrantes indocumentados. Reducir la inmigración indocumentada es uno de los principales objetivos de la patrulla fronteriza. Los encuentros con contrabandistas de drogas son inevitables pero no son prioritarios.

Antes de que Hernández se uniera a la patrulla fronteriza, tenía un trabajo similar como inspector de ganado para el Servicio Veterinario del Ministerio de Agricultura de Estados Unidos. En esa posición patrullaba la línea fronteriza en busca de ganado extraviado y enfermo, en lugar de a contrabandistas e inmigrantes indocumentados. Al grupo de inspectores con los que trabajaba se les conocía con el nombre de River Riders (Los jinetes del río), porque era una patrulla a caballo que inspeccionaba el ganado extraviado que cruza la frontera a través del río Bravo.

En 1987, Hernández comenzó a trabajar con la patrulla fronteriza en Nogales y estableció la patrulla montada. Debido a la falta de hombres capacitados, la patrulla montada se ha visto reducida, pero no será por mucho tiempo, dice Hernández. Nuevos agentes de la academia van a llegar en mayo.

"Una vez que contemos con más gente vamos a revivirla [la patrulla montada]," dice Hernández. "Fuera de la ciudad es la forma más eficiente de patrullar. Si no se puede ir en un vehículo de doble tracción, se puede ir a caballo."

Hernández dice que la belleza de la tierra que patrulla le hace pensar que está viviendo en la época gloriosa del oeste. "Seguirles la pista a estos tipos es como estar en el Viejo Oeste," afirma. "He visto cuevas intactas de los indígenas con relieves en los

Reynaldo Hernández spent much of his youth around horses. • Reynaldo Hernández pasó gran parte de su juventud trabajando con caballos. *Photo courtesy/foto cortesia Reynaldo Hernández*

As a Border Patrolman, Hernández continues to rely on ranching skills, such as horsemanship. • En su trabajo con la patrulla fronteriza, su conocimiento de caballos le es muy útil a Reynaldo Hernández. *Photo courtesy/foto cortesia Reynaldo Hernández*

quickly and surrender, but not all.

"Sometimes there's standoffs," says Hernández. "They will dump their contraband and take off on horseback. I've seen smugglers ride horses through barbed wire fences. I've seen them ride their horses off cliffs." Sure, it's hard on the horse, says Hernández, but to a trafficker facing five to ten years in prison, the horse is the least of his worries. It is not always possible to overtake the mounted smugglers, says Hernández. "The smugglers are good cowboys, good horsemen. I never underestimate their abilities," he says.

Though any of the Border Patrol's encounters could be a confrontation with smugglers or other armed criminals, more commonly they are with illegal immigrants. Curtailing illegal immigration is the Border Patrol's main objective. Encounters with drug smugglers may be inevitable, but they are not the priority.

Before Hernández joined the Border Patrol, he had a similar job as a livestock inspector for the U.S Department of Agriculture's Veterinary Services. In that position, he patrolled the international line for potentially diseased, stray livestock instead of the drug smugglers and illegal aliens he watches for today. The group of inspectors he worked with were nicknamed "River Riders," because they were a horseback patrol that monitored stray livestock crossing the border through the Rio Grande River.

In 1987, Hernández took a job with the Border Patrol station in Nogales, and established the horseback patrol. Because of a shortage of man-

muros, he visto leones montañeses, nidos de águilas mexicanas y una gran abundancia de vida silvestre."

Los ganaderos y los granjeros en las regiones poco pobladas son muchas veces los mejores amigos de los agentes. Les brindan información sobre viajeros sospechosos y cambios de caballos. A cambio reciben información sobre ganado extraviado, cambios en las condiciones del clima y lugares donde los cercos han sido destrozados. Cuando los agentes van a un rancho a investigar, generalmente no usan sus uniformes sino que se visten como si fueran a arrear el ganado. Esta precaución se toma en caso de que los contrabandistas estén tratando de averiguar qué rancheros colaboran con la patrulla fronteriza.

Los oficiales de la patrulla fronteriza vigilan los caminos aún después de que obscurece sin importar que haga mucho calor o que haya nubes de mosquitos hambrientos. Se enfrentan a cualquiera que se aparezca en la obscuridad sin saber a ciencia cierta si son personas pacíficas que solo buscan trabajo o si son narcotraficantes fuertemente armados. Los agentes recorren a caballo, en jeep o en avión las regiones más remotas a lo largo de la frontera. También ponen retenes o puestos de inspección a lo largo de las carreteras para detener a contrabandistas que transportan inmigrantes indocumentados a Estados Unidos en camiones. La práctica de inspeccionar trenes de carga y otro tipo de tráfico de vehículos que entran a Estados Unidos produce numerosos arrestos.

Los agentes de la patrulla fronteriza, al igual que los vaqueros, siempre han respetado la tierra, dice Hernández. Y no es esto todo lo que tienen en común. También hay una integridad y una ética de trabajo. "Trabajan duro sin importar quién recibe los beneficios o las recompensas," dice Hernández. "Pero así es como les gusta. Saben cuáles son sus habilidades pero no necesitan reconocimientos ni recompensas."

PREGUNTAS

1. Identifica algunas de la habilidades que los agentes de la patrulla fronteriza tienen en común con los vaqueros. ¿Piensas que la gente que la patrulla persigue tiene algunas de estas mismas habilidades? ¿Qué otras habilidades y conocimientos deberían tener los agentes de la patrulla fronteriza? Por ejemplo, ¿crees que necesitan completar reportes oficiales? ¿Necesitan conocer las leyes y los reglamentos oficiales que los vaqueros no tienen por qué conocer? ¿Necesitan entrenamiento para-militar? Si es posible, entrevista a un agente de la patrulla fronteriza y pregúntale sobre su entrenamiento y sus actividades diarias en el trabajo. ¿Cómo se diferencia su descripción de la del artículo?

2. Michael Carman escribe que el trabajo de Hernández con la patrulla fronteriza es "similar" a su antiguo trabajo como "inspector de ganado". Los dos trabajos dependen de técnicas de cómo seguir huellas y requieren el conocimiento del terreno, pero también hay diferencias importantes entre los dos trabajos. Anota algunas de estas diferencias. ¿Puedes pensar en algunos problemas que podrían resultar si los agentes de la patrulla fronteriza pensaran en las personas que persiguen de la misma manera en que piensan los inspectores de ganado?

3. ¿Cuáles son algunas diferencias entre atrapar a un contrabandista y a una persona que está cruzando la frontera sin documentos legales?

power, the horse patrol has been scaled back, but Hernández says not for long. New agents from the academy are expected to join the force by May. "Once we get more people, we'll bring it [the horse patrol] back," says Hernández. "Outside the city limits, it's the most effective way to patrol. You can go places on horseback when you can't in a four-wheel vehicle."

Hernández says that the beauty of the land he patrols often makes him feel like he's living back in the West's glory days. "Tracking these guys is like being in the Old West," he adds. "I have seen Indian caves intact with drawings on the wall. I have seen mountain lions, nests of Mexican eagles, an abundance of wildlife."

Reynaldo Hernández spends much time surveying the dry desert expanses of southern Arizona. • Reynaldo Hernández pasa mucho tiempo de su trabajo en el desierto del sur de Arizona. Photo courtesy/foto de Reynaldo Hernández

QUESTIONS

1. Name some of the ranching skills Border Patrol agents use. Do you think some of the people the agents pursue possess some of these same skills? What other skills and knowledge should Border Patrol agents have? For instance, do you think they need to fill out official reports? Do they need to know rules and regulations that cowboys would not know? Do they need para-military training? If possible, interview a Border Patrol agent about his/her training and his/her day-to-day work activities. How does his/her view differ from the description in the article?

2. Michael Carman writes that Hernández's job with the Border Patrol is "similar" to his earlier job as a "livestock inspector." Both jobs rely on tracking techniques and require a knowledge of the land. There are also some key differences between the two jobs. List some of these differences. Can you think of any problems that might occur if Border Patrol agents think of the people they are pursuing in the same terms as a livestock inspector thinks about cattle?

3. What are some of the differences between trying to catch a smuggler and trying to catch a person crossing the border without legal documents?

EJERCICIOS

1. Hernández dice, "Seguirles la pista a estos tipos es como estar en el Viejo Oeste." ¿Qué quiere decir Hernández con esto? ¿Qué es el "Viejo Oeste"? Tu crees que "los tipos" a quien está siguiendo se sienten en el "Viejo Oeste?" Escribe una respuesta al artículo "Patrullando la frontera internacional" desde la perspectiva de una persona que está tratando de cruzar la frontera por un sitio no-oficial. ¿Por qué está cruzando la frontera? ¿Para trabajar? ¿Para visitar parientes? ¿Para comprar cosas? ¿Qué contribuye esta persona a Estados Unidos? Describe su viaje.

2. Así como el trabajo de los agentes de la patrulla fronteriza tiene sus raíces en la ganadería, muchos trabajos en la actualidad dependen del conocimiento y las habilidades de una época pasada. Por ejemplo, un agricultor de nuestros días necesita saber información básica sobre el clima, la tierra, las enfermedades de las plantas y animales aunque use equipo de tecnología avanzada para plantar y cosechar. Entrevista a una persona que tenga un trabajo o pasatiempo que requiera habilidades que se han desarrollado a través de los años. ¿Dónde él o ella aprendió estas habilidades? ¿Está transmitiendo estos conocimientos a las nuevas generaciones?

3. Piensa en un trabajo en el cual la persona tiene que viajar fuera de su comunidad, de su ciudad o de su país, o que tiene que cruzar fronteras. **Pista:** agricultores de temporada, vendedores, diplomáticos. ¿Qué complicaciones le crean los diferentes requisitos legales en cada sitio donde tiene que viajar para su trabajo? ¿Puedes imaginarte por qué algunas personas estarían tentadas a darle la vuelta a algunos de los reglamentos oficiales para realizar su trabajo?

EXERCISES

1. Hernández says, "Tracking these guys is like being in the Old West." What does Hernández mean by this statement? What is the "Old West"? Do you think it feels like the "Old West" to the "guys" he is tracking? Write a response to "Riding the International Frontier" from the perspective of a person trying to cross the border at a point other than at an official border-crossing. Why is the person crossing the border? For work? To visit relatives? To buy things? What will the person contribute to the United States? Describe what the journey is like. Then, write a counter-response from the point of view of someone who has followed the rules and crossed the border legally.

2. Many present-day jobs rely on knowledge and skills from an earlier time, just as the Border Patrol agents rely on their ranching roots. For instance, present-day farmers must know basic information about the weather, soil, and plant and animal diseases even if they use high-tech equipment to plant and harvest crops. Interview someone who has a job or hobby requiring skills that have been developed over many years. Where did this person learn the older skills? Is the person passing these skills on to a younger generation?

3. Think of an occupation in which a person has to travel outside his community, outside his city, outside his country, or across borders. **Clue:** migrant farmworkers, salesmen, diplomats. How do the different legal requirements in the places he or she has to travel to affect his or her job? Can you imagine why people may be tempted to break or at least "bend" some of these official rules to get their job done?

Sumario de la Parte 4
TRABAJO *e* IDENTIDAD

Ideas expuestas en esta sección:

- Muchas ocupaciones en la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México proceden de tradiciones antiguas que existieron antes de que la frontera fuera establecida o tienen una larga trayectoria en la región.
- Algunas ocupaciones incorporan elementos de tradiciones antiguas en nuevas manifestaciones.
- Las circunstancias históricas y sociales afectan las ocupaciones a lo largo de la frontera.

¿Qué Viene a Continuación?

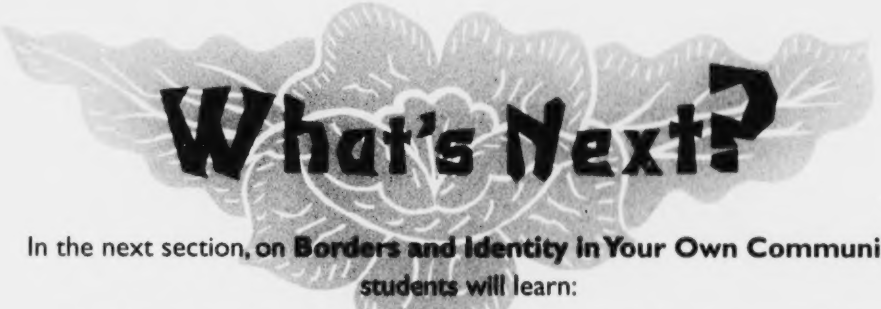
En la siguiente sección, **Fronteras e identidad en tu comunidad,** los estudiantes encontrarán:

- *Una guía para llevar a cabo un proyecto de documentación de su comunidad.*
- *Ideas sobre temas, formato y seguimiento de sus proyectos.*

Summary of Part 4
OCCUPATIONS *and* IDENTITY

Ideas in this section:

- Many occupations on the U.S.-Mexico border come from traditions older than the border or have a long tradition in the region.
- Some occupations incorporate elements of older traditions in new forms.
- Historical and social circumstances affect occupations along the border.



What's Next?

In the next section, **on Borders and Identity in Your Own Community, students will** learn:

- *guidelines for carrying out a documentation project of their own communities.*
- *ideas for topics, format, and follow-up for their projects.*

Part 5:

BORDERS AND IDENTITY IN YOUR OWN COMMUNITY

Parte 5:

FRONTERAS E IDENTIDAD EN TU COMUNIDAD

INTRODUCCIÓN *para el* MAESTRO

Ahora está usted listo para guiar a sus estudiantes en un proyecto de documentación de su comunidad. Esta sección le proporciona consejos prácticos para llevar a cabo este proyecto. La sección comienza con un ejercicio en el cual el estudiante crea su propia versión del mapa cultural incluido en este material educativo. Este ejercicio ayudará al estudiante a obtener ideas para su proyecto.

Infórmese sobre el horario de las bibliotecas locales o archivos y lo accesible que son para sus estudiantes. Sería bueno que identificara lugares como tiendas, panaderías, y pequeños negocios, murales y eventos como celebraciones locales. Es posible que conozca algún artista tradicional a quien sus estudiantes puedan entrevistar. Si no conoce a nadie, pregúntele a sus amigos o conocidos. La escuela es siempre una buena fuente de recursos: otros maestros, administradores, personal de limpieza y los trabajadores de la cafetería pueden ser personas a las que se pueda entrevistar o que lo pueden referir a otras personas.

Recuerde que usted es un modelo para los estudiantes. Asegúrese de incluirse en el mapa cultural. Puede hacer una entrevista a uno de sus familiares y compartir su información con los estudiantes o ellos pueden entrevistarlo a usted. Muéstrele a los estudiantes algunas fotos de su familia o un objeto y explíqueles por qué le son importantes o cuénteles una historia divertida sobre su infancia que ilustre algunos de los aspectos de la identidad que hemos discutido. Invite a un fotógrafo o alguien que sepa de video para que dé un pequeño taller a sus estudiantes. Si es un buen fotógrafo o maneja bien la videocámara, dé usted mismo el taller y comparta algunos de sus trabajos con sus estudiantes.

La siguiente guía le proporciona sólo una idea de la información que sus estudiantes necesitan para desarrollar un proyecto a gran escala. Hay muchas guías excelentes sobre historia oral y cultura popular. Para mayor información consulte el Apéndice.

Al término de esta sección los estudiantes habrán aprendido:

- *la historia de sus familias.*
- *cómo llevar a cabo el proyecto de documentación que han elegido.*

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

You are now ready to guide your students through a documentation project on your own community! This section provides practical advice for such a project. The section begins with an exercise in which students create their own version of the cultural map included in the kit. This exercise should help students generate ideas for their own project.

Make sure you know the hours of local libraries and/or archives and the accessibility of their collections to students. You may want to do some preliminary research to identify sites such as family-run businesses, ethnic bakeries or grocery stores, murals, and events such as local celebrations. You may know some folk artists for students to interview. Do not overlook your school as a rich source of information: fellow teachers, administrators, janitors, cafeteria workers may be resource people themselves or may know people whom students could interview.

Remember that students will look to you as a model. Be sure to "place yourself" on their cultural map. You may also wish to conduct an interview of a family member yourself and share this with your students, or have them interview you. Bring in some family photos or an artifact and explain why they are important to you, or tell students a funny story from your childhood. If you do not know how to use a 35-mm camera or a video camera, invite a person with knowledge of such equipment into the classroom to give a mini-workshop before your students go into the community. Practice gathering visual information with them. If you are an accomplished photographer or videographer, share some of your work with students.

The following guidelines provide only a sketch of the information your students may need to carry out a full-blown project. There are a number of excellent oral history and folklore guides available; see the Bibliography for suggestions.

By the end of this section, students will learn:

- *the history of their own families and/or communities.*
- *how to carry out a documentation project of their own choosing.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Proyecto del Estudiante

Las cuatro partes del video te introdujeron a la riqueza cultural de la región fronteriza entre Estados Unidos y México. Ahora estás listo para explorar las fronteras en tu vida y tu comunidad en un proyecto.

He aquí una guía para llevar a cabo ese proyecto:

- Elige un tema.
- Planea la investigación que necesitas.
- Planea tus entrevistas y otras formas de documentación que usarás en tu investigación.
- Lleva a cabo las entrevistas.
- Crea un proyecto final.
- Haz planes para compartir tu proyecto con un público más grande.

Tu Mapa Cultural

Toda la clase va a crear un mapa cultural y cada estudiante se va a incluir en él. El mapa puede ser de tu ciudad, municipio o estado. Investiga la historia local de tu área e incluye algunos breves datos.

Identifica elementos geográficos y físicos que han tenido un impacto en tu área. **Pista:** montañas, ríos, océanos, vías de tren, proyectos habitacionales, complejos industriales, menciona también eventos políticos importantes que ayudaron a formar el área (pleitos sobre el territorio, cambios de administración, etcétera.).

- ¿Qué imágenes están asociadas a la región que estás investigando? ¿Letreros en la calle, logotipos comerciales, manifestaciones de arte, comidas?
- ¿Dónde están las fronteras en tu mapa? **Pista:** Recuerda que las fronteras no sólo existen entre dos países. ¿En qué se diferencia la vida en uno y otro lado? ¿En qué se parece?

Cada persona en la clase debe escribir un párrafo sobre sí mismo similar al que se incluye en el mapa cultural de la frontera. Incluye la información de cuándo y por qué tu familia vino al área. Trae fotografías tuyas o toma fotos en la clase. Si eres bilingüe, incluye una traducción de tu párrafo al otro idioma que conoces.

Student Project

The four-part video has introduced you to the rich culture of the U.S.-Mexico border region. Now you are ready to explore the borders in your own lives and communities in a large-scale project. Here is a framework for such a project.

The following guidelines will help you:

- Pick a theme.
- Plan your background research.
- Prepare for interviews and other forms of documentation.
- Carry out interviews.
- Create a final project.
- Develop plans to share your project with a wider audience.

Your Own Map

As a class, create your own cultural map, and place yourselves on it. The map may be of your town or city, county, or state. Research the local history of your area, and include some brief information.

Note geographic and other physical features that have had an impact on your area. **Clue:** for example, mountains, rivers, oceans, railroad tracks, housing projects, industrial complexes as well as any significant political events that helped form the area (disputes over territory, changes in administration, etc.).

- What familiar images are associated with the region you are mapping? Street signs, commercial logos, art forms, foods?
- Where are the borders on the map? **Clue:** Remember that borders are not only between two countries. What's different about life on each side? What's the same?

Each member of the class should write a paragraph about him/herself similar to those included on the border cultural map. Include information about why and when your family came to your area. Bring in family photographs or take photographs in class. If you are bilingual, include a translation of your paragraph in your other language.

EJERCICIOS

1. DISEÑA TU PROYECTO

Es hora de diseñar tu proyecto.

Tu proyecto debe tener una combinación de:

- entrevistas
- documentación visual como dibujos, fotografías o video
- investigación en la biblioteca o en los archivos

Tu investigación y documentación debe materializarse en un producto final que se pueda exhibir, actuar o escribir e ilustrar. El mapa cultural de tu clase puede ayudarte a elegir un tema o es posible que después de hacer todos los ejercicios relacionados con los videos de este material educativo ya tengas una idea de lo que quieres hacer. A continuación mencionamos algunas posibilidades.

- Compila un ensayo de fotografías sobre una celebración local o un evento comunitario. Si entrevistas a los participantes, los organizadores y miembros del público, puedes obtener citas interesantes que puedes usar en el texto que acompaña a las fotografías. ¿De qué manera la celebración funciona como un elemento de identidad para las personas que participan en ésta (incluyéndote a ti)?

- Haz un video corto (5 minutos) sobre un artista tradicional local (por ejemplo un tallador de madera, un músico, una persona que hace instrumentos musicales o canastas). Asegúrate de incluir información sobre la historia familiar del artista y por qué vive en esta área, por qué su arte es importante para su identidad y no olvides mencionar si el arte de esta persona tiene significado para tí.

- Inventa un juego de "Fronteras" basado en un juego popular como "Turista". Tu juego puede ser sobre tu comunidad o sobre la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México. Si no quieres comprar casas y hoteles, ¿en qué otra cosa puedes invertir tu dinero en la frontera? ¿Puedes hacerlo en las maquiladoras o en los barcos camaroneros? ¿Cómo puedes incorporar las consecuencias de cruzar la frontera en tu juego?

- Crea un calendario anual con diferentes ilustraciones para cada mes, incluyendo una ilustración (fotografía o dibujo) de tu familia,

EXERCISES

1. DESIGNING YOUR PROJECT

Now it is time to design your own project.

Your project should include a combination of:

- interviews
- visual documentation through drawings, still photographs, or video
- library or archival research

Your research and documentation should lead to a final product that can be displayed, performed, or written and illustrated. Your class cultural map may help you choose a topic, or you may already have some ideas from carrying out the exercises related to the videos. Here are some more possibilities.

- Compile a photo essay on a local celebration or community event. Interviews with participants, organizers, and audience members might produce some interesting quotations to use as text to accompany photographs. How does the celebration serve as an identity marker for those involved (including yourself)?

- Make a short (5-minute) video on a local folk artist (such as a wood carver, instrument maker, quilter, basket maker, musician). Be sure to include information about the artist's family history, why he/she lives in your area, and/or why his/her art is an important part of his/her identity. Does this craft or this person have a special meaning for you as well?

- Invent a "Borders" game based on a popular game, like "Monopoly." Your game can be about your community or the U.S.-Mexico border. If you don't want to buy houses or hotels, what might you invest in along the border? What about *maquiladoras* or shrimping boats? How can you incorporate the consequences of crossing the border into your game?

- Create a 12-month calendar with a different illustration for each month, including an illustration (photo or drawing) of your family or community or group of friends. A caption can explain why the picture is an important identity marker. Important local events should be noted for each month. Possibilities include: birthdays of local heroes, commemorations of battles fought, dates of

comunidad o grupo de amistades. Un pie de fotografía puede explicar por qué la fotografía es un elemento de identidad. Los eventos locales importantes deben ser señalados en cada mes. Las posibilidades incluyen los cumpleaños de héroes locales, la conmemoración de batallas, fechas importantes, fechas en que ocurrieron desastres naturales (inundaciones, terremotos) o desastres industriales (incendio de edificios, derrumbes en minas).

2. BOCETO

Escribe un boceto de una página sobre tu tema. En el boceto incluye a quién piensas entrevistar, de dónde piensas sacar tus ilustraciones y qué bibliotecas y archivos vas a usar. Explica cómo será el producto final, cuál será su extensión, cuántas ilustraciones tendrá, cuánto espacio en la pared va a cubrir y otros detalles concernientes a tu proyecto. Describe quién crees que será el público para tu proyecto (los compañeros de clase, el resto de la escuela, o los padres de familia). Si puedes incluye una pequeña bibliografía. Haz un plan para determinar cuándo vas a terminar cada fase del proyecto. Si estás trabajando en un grupo explica quién es el(la) responsable de cada parte del proyecto.

Muéstrale tu boceto a tu maestro y a tus compañeros de clase, escucha sus comentarios y sugerencias e incorpora los cambios necesarios.

3. REALIZA EL PROYECTO

Ahora ya estás listo para empezar. El lugar para empezar depende de tu proyecto. Sería bueno reunir información preliminar en la biblioteca de la escuela, de la ciudad o de la universidad, en los archivos de los periódicos locales o consultar con el cronista de la ciudad. Tal vez necesites empezar con una encuesta de posibles sujetos para fotografiar o entrevistar en tu comunidad.

Estas son algunas pistas para reunir información:

- *Entrevistas:* Si puedes usa una grabadora. Es más fácil grabar que escribir cada palabra. Te recomendamos que pruebes y te familiarices con tu equipo. Un problema común con personas que hacen una entrevista por primera vez es que tienden a dominar la entrevista. Formula una pregunta y deja que el entrevistado conteste. Te recomendamos hacer una lista con las preguntas pero no dejes que estas preguntas dirijan la entrevista. Si las preguntas te llevan a un tema que no está en tu lista, no temas preguntar; puedes obtener información que nunca habías pensado conseguir.
- *Biblioteca o archivo:* Consulta con un bibliotecario antes de comenzar tu investigación. Explícale tu proyecto y pídele

significant landmarks, anniversaries of local natural disasters (floods, earthquakes) or industrial disasters (mine cave-ins, building fires).

2. OUTLINE

Write a one-page outline of your topic, including whom you plan to interview, where you plan to get the illustrations from, and what libraries or archives you will use. Explain what the finished product will be, with information on length, number of images, wall space it will cover, and other details pertinent to your plans. Describe who you think the audience for the final product will be (classmates, the rest of the school, or parents). Include a short bibliography if possible. Write out a schedule for completion of the project. If you are working with a group, be sure to explain who will be responsible for which parts of the project.

Share your outline with your teacher and classmates, and adjust the outline to incorporate their comments and suggestions.

3. CARRYING OUT THE PROJECT

Now you are ready to start. The place to begin will depend on your project. You may want to gather preliminary information at the school or local library, historical society, or archives of the local newspaper office. You may need to begin with a survey of your community for likely subjects for photos or interviews.

Here are some clues to successful information gathering:

- *Interviews:* Use a cassette tape recorder if available. It is much easier to record speech than to try to write down every word. Practice runs are recommended, to make sure you are comfortable with your equipment. One of the biggest problems for a beginning interviewer is the tendency to dominate the interview. Ask one question at a time, and let the person take time in answering. A list of questions helps to begin, but don't let these questions rule the interview. If a question leads to a topic not on your list, don't hesitate to ask. You may come away with information that you had never thought to gather.
- *Library or Archives:* Consult the reference staff of the library or archives before plunging into research. Explain your project, and ask for suggestions of where to start. Be sure to respect any rules the institution has about handling materials, using equipment (such as computers or microfilm readers), and the proper way to credit photos or other materials gathered. Find out the policy for copying materials before you decide what to include in your project.

sugerencias. Respeta todas las reglas que la institución tiene sobre uso de los materiales y equipo (como computadoras y lectores de microfilm) y la forma correcta en que debes dar créditos por las fotografías u otros materiales que conseguiste. Infórmate sobre los reglamentos de copiado de materiales antes que decidas incluirlos en tu proyecto.

- *Información visual:* Haz dibujos o planos (por ejemplo de celebraciones, lugares, altares y demás) para complementar tu investigación. Si puedes conseguir cámara fotográfica, antes de comenzar practica con tu equipo. Toma algunas fotografías y si te es posible pide consejo a fotógrafos. Para darte una idea de lo que puedes hacer te puede ser útil ver libros de fotografía. Asegúrate que tu equipo esté trabajando y que tengas suficiente película. A veces necesitarás usar un trípode para evitar fotos movidas. Dáte suficiente tiempo para tomar fotografías. Si estás trabajando en grupo y tienen suficiente equipo, varias personas pueden tomar fotografías o video sobre varios aspectos del mismo evento.

4. FINALIZA EL PROYECTO

Una vez que has reunido la información puedes editar, componer y finalizar tu proyecto.

Estas son algunas ideas que garantizan un buen trabajo final:

- Selecciona el material que vas a usar. No tienes que usar todo el que has obtenido. Tu proyecto será mediocre y menos efectivo si usas fotos desenfocadas, citas poco interesantes, grabaciones no claras o malas reproducciones de trabajos artísticos. Si tienes problemas al seleccionar materiales consulta a tu maestro, familia u otros estudiantes.
- Sé breve y conciso. Quizá te veas tentado a usar toda la información que conseguiste pero tu público permanecerá atento y comprenderá mejor lo que le quieres comunicar si tus explicaciones son claras y concisas. Selecciona sólo las imágenes y citas que ilustren mejor tu tema.
- Estudia a tu público. Si vas a presentar tu trabajo a los estudiantes de grados menores, a padres de familia, a tu familia o a la comunidad, asegúrate que la información sea apropiada para la edad, conocimiento e interés del público.
- Asegúrate que tienes permiso de todas las fuentes (personas que entrevistaste o que participaron en un evento y de las que

- *Visual Information:* Make sure you know how to use your equipment (still camera, video camera) before you begin! Practice before shooting the pictures for your project. If possible, get some pointers from a skilled photographer or videographer. It may help to look through photo essay books and to watch some well-made documentary videos to get ideas on what you would like to do. Make sure your equipment is in good working order and that you have enough film, videotape, and batteries with you. In some cases you may need to use a tripod to avoid blurry photos and jumpy video. Be sure to allow enough time to reshoot photos or video if a problem occurs. If you are working in a group and have enough equipment, have more than one person shoot different aspects of the same event to ensure good coverage.

4. Putting It All Together

Once your information is gathered, you are ready to edit, compose, and finalize your project.

Here are some ideas that will help guarantee a good final product:

- Choose your best work. Your project will look sloppy and will be less effective if you choose blurry photos, uninteresting quotations, scratchy recordings, or badly reproduced artwork. Consult your teacher, family members, and classmates to help you choose information if you are having a hard time deciding what to use.

- Keep it short and precise. You may be tempted to include all of the information you gathered in a final product, but your audience will remain engaged longer and understand your point better if you keep explanations as concise and clear as possible. Select only those images and quotations that best illustrate your theme.

- Know your audience. If you plan to present your final product to lower grades, parents, family members, or the community at large, you will want to adjust the information to suit the age, knowledge, and/or interests of your audience.

- Be sure to obtain permission from all sources (people you interviewed, or who participated in a performance you may have videotaped) to use the information. Properly credit all of the information you use. You do not want to anger or hurt anyone who provided information for your project.

tomaste un video) para usar la información. Incluye los créditos apropiados. No permitas que una persona que te ayudó con el proyecto se enoje o se sienta ofendida.

- Prepara un pequeño evento para el día que inaugures o presentes tu proyecto. Si te es posible ofrece unos refrescos. Reserva suficiente tiempo para recibir la reacción y elogios del público.
- Trata de obtener comentarios sobre el proyecto. Después de presentar tu proyecto al público presta atención a su reacción y a sus comentarios. Posiblemente alguien en tu grupo puede discutir y evaluar el proyecto con el público. Esta información te puede ayudar a realizar un mejor proyecto la próxima vez o a hacer los cambios necesarios al proyecto actual.

- Plan an event around the opening or inauguration of your project. If possible, offer simple refreshments.
- Obtain some formal feedback. After you have presented your project to your audience, be sure to note their reactions and comments. You might wish to assign someone in your group to gather comments or to administer a short evaluation sheet to audience members. This information will help you improve your next project, or adjust this project if you are so inclined.

Seguimiento

Es posible que quieras llevar tu proyecto más lejos.
He aquí algunas sugerencias:

- *En la clase pueden juntar toda la información que recibieron sobre todos los proyectos y pueden hacer un libro sobre todos los proyectos de la clase.*
- *Investiga si el canal de televisión local se interesa en producir un programa sobre el proyecto que han elaborado o en incluirlo en el noticiero.*
- *Si tienes una pequeña exhibición, pregúntale a las organizaciones locales o a algunos negocios (la biblioteca local, bancos, centros comunitarios, etc.) si quieren exhibir tu trabajo.*
- *Comparte tu proyecto con otros públicos. Si es apropiado, lleva tu muestra de gira a asilos de ancianos, guarderías, otras escuelas, la dirección de las escuelas y las oficinas de gobierno local. Investiga si algunas organizaciones locales (centros comunitarios, clubes) están buscando algunas ideas de programación y presenta ahí tu proyecto.*
- *Escribe un artículo sobre tu proyecto para el periódico local.*
- *Organiza todas tus transcripciones, notas, fotografías o videos y crea un archivo en la biblioteca de tu escuela. Esta es una buena forma de usar la información que no pudiste incluir en tu trabajo final. Incluye un índice para que otras personas puedan usar la información fácilmente.*

Para mayor información sobre cómo crear un proyecto, entrevista u otras técnicas, consulta la lista de Fuentes para la investigación de la cultura popular en el Apéndice.

Follow-Up

You may **want to take your final project** further.
Here are **some suggestions:**

- *As a class, gather together the information from all of the projects. Make a book of the class projects.*
- *If you made a video, find out if a local cable or community access television channel would like to broadcast it.*
- *If you created a small exhibition, ask a local organization or business (local historical society, bank, community center) if they would like to borrow it for a display.*
- *Share your project with another audience. If appropriate, take your show "on the road" to a local senior citizen center or nursing home, a daycare center, another school, your local school board, or city government. Find out if local organizations are looking for program ideas (Boy Scouts, Lion's Club, community center), and present your project to them.*
- *Write an article for the local newspaper based on your research.*
- *Organize all of your transcripts, notes, photos, or video footage, and create an archives for the school library. This is a good way to use information that you cannot include in the final product. Be sure to include an index for easy access by others.*

For more information on creating a project, interviewing, and other techniques, consult the Folklore Research Resources listing in the Appendix.

Apéndice:

FECHAS CLAVE

PALABRAS CLAVE

CORRIDO

BIBLIOGRAFÍA

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Appendix:

KEY DATES

KEY WORDS

CORRIDO

BIBLIOGRAPHY

VIDEO NARRATION

REPRINTS

FECHAS CLAVE EN LA HISTORIA FRONTERIZA

Hace 10,000 años	Primeros pobladores indígenas en la región
Hace 2,500 años	Establecimiento en la región de los pai pai y otros pobladores indígenas yumano-hablantes
1500s	Introducción de ganadería a la región por colonos españoles
1659	Establecimiento del primer poblado en El Paso del Norte y de la misión de la Virgen de Guadalupe
1755	Fundación de Laredo
1790s – principios de 1800s	Llegada cada vez en mayores números de comerciantes y exploradores angloamericanos a la región del norte de la Nueva España (más tarde México)
1820s	Establecimiento en la región conocida ahora como Texas de los primeros colonos angloamericanos que aprenden de ganadería de los vaqueros mexicanos
1823-34	Primeras imprentas y periódicos en la región
1835-36	Secesión e independencia de Texas
1840s	Migración a la región de los mascogos (seminoles negros)
1846-48	Guerra entre México y los Estados Unidos
1848	Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo
1848	Fundación de Nuevo Laredo
1848	Fundación de Tijuana

KEY DATES IN BORDER HISTORY

10,000 years ago	Earliest Native American settlers in the region
2,500 years ago	Settlement of Pai Pai and other Yumano-speaking Native American groups in the region
1500s	Introduction of ranching to the region by Spanish colonists
1659	First settlement and mission of the Virgin of Guadalupe established at El Paso del Norte
1755	Founding of Laredo
1790s-early 1800s	First Anglo-American fur traders, merchants, and explorers to the region of northern New Spain (later Mexico)
1820s	Settlement in the region that is now Texas of first Anglo-Americans, who learn ranching from Mexican *vaqueros*
1823-34	Emergence of earliest printing presses and newspapers in the region
1835-36	Texas Revolt and Independence
1840s	Migration of Black Seminoles to the region
1846-48	United States-Mexico War
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
1848	Founding of Nuevo Laredo
1848	Founding of Tijuana

APÉNDICE: FECHAS CLAVE

1853	Tratado de la Mesilla
1860s-70s	Llegada del acordeón a la región oriental de la frontera con inmigrantes alemanes y checoslovacos
1880s	Llegada de los ferrocarriles a la frontera tanto del lado americano como del mexicano
1882	Ley de Exclusión China en los Estados Unidos
1888	Elevación oficial de la población de El Paso del Norte, Chihuahua, a la categoría de ciudad con el nombre de Ciudad Juárez.
Fines de 1800s	Llegada de los inmigrantes chinos a la región occidental de la frontera
1910-17	La Revolución Mexicana
1911	Primer Congreso Mexicanista en Laredo, Texas
1924	Fundación de la patrulla fronteriza de los Estados Unidos
1929-40	La Gran Depresión en Estados Unidos y México
1930s	Movimiento anti-chino en México
1943	Motines *Zoot-suit* en California
1942-65	Programa Bracero
1954	Operación Mojados
1960s	Alianzas entre el movimiento chicano y United Farmworkers Association
1960s-70s	El Movimiento La Raza: movimiento político chicano
1960s-90s	Inmigración de los mixtecos de Oaxaca a Baja California, California y otras partes de Estados Unidos
1961	Programa nacional de desarrollo económico de la Frontera en México
1964	El Tratado de Chamizal
1965	Fundación del Teatro Campesino chicano

1853	Gadsden (Mesilla Valley) Purchase
1860s-70s	Accordion brought to the eastern border region by German and Czechoslovakian immigrants
1880s	Railroads reach the U.S.-Mexico border
1882	Chinese Exclusion Act in the United States
1888	Town of El Paso del Norte in Chihuahua officially recognized as a city; name changed to Ciudad Juárez
Late 1800s	Arrival of Chinese immigrants in western border region
1910-17	Mexican Revolution
1911	First Mexicanist Conference in Laredo, Texas
1924	U.S. Border Patrol founded
1929-40	The Great Depression in the United States and Mexico
1930s	Anti-Chinese movement in Mexico
1943	California Zoot-suit riots
1942-65	Bracero Program
1954	Operation Wetback
1960s	Alliances between Chicano movement and United Farmworkers Association
1960s-70s	El Movimiento La Raza: the Chicano political movement
1960s-90s	Migration of Mixtecos from Oaxaca to Baja California, California, and other parts of the United States
1961	National Border Economic Development Program in Mexico
1964	Chamizal Treaty
1965	Founding of Chicano Teatro Campesino

1965-66	Programa de Industrialización (Maquiladora) de la Frontera iniciado por México
1968-75	Primera etapa del movimiento de arte chicano
1969	Adopción de "El plan espiritual de Aztlán"
1960s-90s	La población fronteriza aumenta de 4 millones a 9.3 millones
1986	Acta de Reforma y Control Inmigratorio
1991-93	Residentes de Ciudad Acuña, Coahuila y Del Río, Texas, impiden que se construya un basurero tóxico cerca de esas ciudades
1994	Tratado de Libre Comercio
1994	Propuesta 187
1994-95	La operación "Guardián" en Tijuana
1995	Primer Día del Río en Nuevo Laredo – Laredo: setecientos residentes de ambos lados de la frontera recogen 17 toneladas de contaminantes sólidos del río Bravo
1995	La operación "Salvaguarda" en El Paso

1965-66	Border Industrialization (*Maquiladora*) Program initiated by Mexico
1968-75	First period of the Chicano art movement
1969	Adoption of "*El plan espiritual de Aztlán*"
1960s-90s	Border population increases from 4 million to 9.3 million
1986	Immigration Reform and Control Act
1991-93	Residents of Del Río, Texas, and Ciudad Acuña, Coahuila, stop the construction of a toxic waste dump near their cities
1994	North American Free Trade Agreement
1994	Proposition 187
1994-95	Operation "Gatekeeper" in Tijuana
1995	First River Day celebrated in Laredo – Nuevo Laredo: 700 residents from both sides of the border clean 17 tons of solid pollutants from the Rio Grande/Río Bravo
1995	Operation "Hold the Line" in El Paso

PALABRAS CLAVE

Las palabras siguientes te ayudarán a definir temas que se cubren en el video y en los materiales escritos. Si mientras ves el video o haces los ejercicios encuentras otros términos desconocidos, búscalos en un diccionario y discute su significado con tu maestro. Agrega tus términos a esta lista.

Cajún: Descendientes de los pobladores franceses que fueron expulsados por los ingleses de Arcadia, en la parte noreste de Canadá. Los ingleses renombraron el territorio como Nova Scotia o Nueva Escocia. Muchas de estas personas procedentes de Arcadia se establecieron en el sur de Louisiana donde adquirieron el nombre de "cajún". Muchos cajún aún hablan francés y mantienen una cultura propia. Algunos cajún inmigraron a la región fronteriza a lo largo de la costa del Golfo de México para trabajar en la industria camaronera.

Chicano: Uno de los varios términos usados para referirse a los ciudadanos estadounidenses de ascendencia mexicana. El término se volvió popular en la década de los 60 y se asocia con el Movimiento Chicano de Derechos Civiles. **Véase también: Mejicano, Tejano, Latino.**

Cholo: Término español o indígena que se ha definido de diferentes maneras y que tiene varias connotaciones. En la región andina sudamericana, a los indígenas que inmigran a la ciudad y se adaptan a esa cultura se les llama "cholos". A principios del siglo XX la palabra "cholo" se usó para referirse a las personas de origen rural mexicano que vivían en los vecindarios urbanos de clase obrera en el sudoeste de Estados Unidos. Ahora cholo se refiere principalmente a una cultura juvenil urbana que se extiende por el sudeste de Estados Unidos y al otro lado de la frontera en México.

Corrido: Baladas (formas tradicionales de poemas narrativos que se cantan) que cuentan una historia o comentan un evento que tiene un significado particular para una región.

Documentación etnográfica: Investigación que estudia y documenta la cultura actual en el marco en el que sucede. Esta investigación se puede hacer a través de entrevistas, notas, fotografías,

KEYWORDS

The following words will help define topics covered in the video and in the written materials. If other unfamiliar terms come up while you are watching the video or completing the exercises, look them up in a dictionary and discuss their meanings with your teacher. Add your own words to this list.

Black Seminole: Black Seminoles are African Americans who originally lived with the Seminole Indians in Florida. They migrated westward with the Seminole Indians into Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and later, during the nineteenth century, to northern Mexico, to avoid enslavement. In the 1870s, some moved back to the United States to serve as scouts for the army. In Mexico, they are called Mascogos.

Cajun: Cajuns are descendants of French settlers who were forced out of Arcadia, in northeastern Canada, by the English. The English renamed the land Nova Scotia or New Scotland. Many of these Arcadians settled in southern Louisiana, where the name "Arcadian" became "Cajun." Many Cajuns still speak French and maintain a distinct culture. Some Cajuns migrated to the border region along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico to follow the shrimping industry.

Chicano: One of several terms used to refer to U.S. citizens of Mexican ancestry. The term became popular in the 1960s and is associated with the Chicano Civil Rights Movement. **See also: Mejicano, Tejano, Latino**.

Cholo: An old Spanish and/or Indian term that has been defined in numerous ways and has a variety of connotations. In Andean South America, Indians who migrated to the city and became acculturated were called *cholos*. During the early twentieth century, "*cholo*" came to refer to persons of rural Mexican origin who lived in urban working-class neighborhoods in the Southwest of the United States. Currently, "*cholo*" represents a primarily urban youth culture that extends throughout the southwestern United States and across the border into Mexico.

***Conjunto* music**: The *conjunto* style of border music (as it is known in Texas; it is referred to elsewhere as *música norteña*) is a popular

videos o grabaciones. La documentación se basa en una combinación de técnicas de observación, entrevistas y grabaciones.

Fiesta de San Francisco: Fiesta anual de San Francisco que se celebra el 4 de octubre en el pueblo de Magdalena de Kino en el estado de Sonora, México. Esta celebración conmemora a San Francisco Xavier, a San Francisco de Asís y al Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino y reúne a residentes de la frontera de diferentes orígenes incluyendo a mexicanos, méxicoamericanos, tohono o'odham, yaqui y mayo, y de otras regiones de México.

Folklorista: Investigador que se ha preparado para estudiar y documentar la cultura tradicional. También se le llama un investigador de cultura popular.

Hispano: Término general que se usa para referirse a personas de descendencia española o latinoamericana. Para encontrar términos que se refieren a personas de origen hispano que proceden de México, **véase también: Chicano**, **Mejicano**, **Tejano** o **Latino**.

Latino: Término reciente que se usa para describir a las personas de herencia latinoamericana que viven en Estados Unidos. Muchos latinoamericanos en este país prefieren llamarse a sí mismos "latinos" y no hispanos.

Lowrider (también llamado onda bajita, carritos, carruchas o ranflas): Término común a lo largo de la frontera y en el sudoeste de Estados Unidos que se refiere a un carro decorado elaboradamente, al cuál se le adapta un sistema hidraúlico, y salta. También se reconoce con esta denominación a la persona que diseña y maneja este tipo de carro. La imagen y el estilo del *lowrider* contribuyen a una identidad particular de la frontera que se conforma a su localidad.

Maquiladora: Término que se refiere a las grandes plantas de ensamblaje de origen extranjero que se establecen en México. Antes de que se firmara el Tratado de Libre Comercio entre México y Estados Unidos (TLC), las maquiladoras se localizaban en el lado mexicano de la frontera con Estados Unidos. En la actualidad, las maquiladoras se encuentran a través de todo el territorio mexicano. Pese a que las maquiladoras contribuyen a aumentar el empleo en la región, también han causado varios problemas de salud y en el medio ambiente.

type of accordion music played to accompany dancing. In the 1940s and 1950s, ensembles featuring the accordion and the Mexican guitar known as a *bajo sexto* rapidly replaced the formerly popular string bands. *Conjunto* music was exclusively instrumental until Valerio Longoria introduced vocals after World War II. In the 1960s, Los Relámpagos del Norte, a musical group from Mexico, synthesized a more modern *conjunto* style from Texas with an older *norteño* tradition to create a style that reached new heights in popularity. *Conjunto* and *norteño* have great appeal among working-class communities on the border.

Corrido: *Corridos* are ballads (traditional forms of narrative poems intended to be sung) that tell a story or comment on events of significance to a region.

Ethnographic documentation: The study and recording of living culture in its real-life setting. This can be done by interviews, written notes, photographs, and/or audio or video recordings. Documentation usually relies on a combination of observation, interview, and recording techniques.

Fiesta de San Francisco: The annual Fiesta de San Francisco is celebrated on October 4 in the town of Magdalena de Kino in the state of Sonora in Mexico. This celebration commemorates Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Francis of Assisi, and Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, and brings together border residents from many backgrounds, including Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Tohono O'odham, Yaqui, and Mayo Indians from Arizona and different regions of Mexico.

Folklorist: A researcher trained in recognizing and documenting traditional culture. Also called a folklife researcher.

Hispanic: A broad ethnic designation used to refer to persons whose ancestors came from Spain or Latin America. For terms to refer to persons of Hispanic heritage who come from Mexico, **see also: Chicano**, **Mejicano**, **Tejano**, or **Latino**.

Latino: A recent term used to describe persons of Latin American heritage living in the United States. Many Latin Americans in this country choose to call themselves Latino, rather than Hispanic.

Lowrider (also called *onda bajita, carritos, carruchas,* or *ranflas*): Along the border and throughout the Southwest of the United States, a

Mariachi: Forma popular de música tradicional mexicana. Los instrumentos típicos en un grupo de mariachi incluyen el violín, la trompeta, la guitarra, la vihuela y el guitarrón. La música de mariachi se hizo popular en México y en la frontera a principios de la década de 1930.

Mejicano: Ortografía que prefieren algunas personas de origen mexicano que viven en el sudeste de Estados Unidos para la palabra "mexicano". La ortografía de la palabra con "j" en vez de "x" antecede la independencia de México de España en 1810 (después de su independencia, México usa la "x" para escribir "México" y "méxicano" a diferencia del uso común con "j" en España). Pero de mayor importancia, esta ortografía representa para los *mejicanos* en esta región un patrimonio que antecede la fecha en que este territorio se volvió parte de Estados Unidos. **Véase también: Chicano, Latino, Méxicoamericano, Tejano.**

Mestizo: Término para referirse a las personas que tienen una mezcla de origen indígena y europeo.

Méxicoamericano: Personas de ascendencia mexicana que viven en Estados Unidos. **Véase también: Chicano, Mejicano, Latino** o **Tejano.**

Mixteco: Uno de los varios grupos indígenas de Oaxaca que han emigrado a las áreas urbanas y agrícolas de México y Estados Unidos, incluyendo Tijuana, Baja California y Los Angeles, California, en los últimos 30 años.

Mural: Obras de arte que con frecuencia ilustran hechos de la vida y que se pintan sobre los muros o los techos. A lo largo de la frontera mucha gente de ascendencia hispana (chicanos y cholos, entre otros) usan los murales para representar héroes o luchas importantes para su identidad. Las imágenes en los murales de la frontera provienen de hechos históricos importantes y símbolos religiosos y de protesta.

Música de conjunto (como se le conoce en Texas, aunque en otras partes es reconocida con el nombre de música norteña): Tipo de música popular de acordeón en la frontera que se toca para acompañar bailes. En las décadas de 1940 y 1950, grupos que tocaban el acordeón y la guitarra mexicana conocida con el nombre de bajo sexto reemplazaron rápidamente a las famosas bandas de cuerdas. La música de conjunto era solamente instrumental hasta que Valerio

lowrider refers either to an elaborately decorated car adapted with a hydraulic system to make it jump, or to a person associated with the car. The lowrider image and style contribute to a distinctive border identity that is shaped by the local neighborhood and community.

Maquiladora: A Spanish word for large assembly-plant factories established by foreign companies in Mexico. Until the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the location of *maquiladoras* was on the Mexican side of the U.S.-Mexico border. Today they may be found throughout Mexico. Although they contribute to increased employment in the region, *maquiladoras* have caused health and environmental problems as well.

Mariachi: A popular form of traditional Mexican music. Instruments in a mariachi ensemble typically include violins, trumpets, and members of the guitar family, such as the Spanish guitar, the *vihuela* (predates the guitar), and *guitarrón* (a bass guitar). Mariachi music became popular in Mexico and along the border beginning in the 1930s.

Mejicano: Some persons of Mexican origin who live in the southwestern United States prefer the spelling "Mejicano" for the term "Mexicano" (Mexican). The spelling of the word with the letter "j" instead of "x" predates Mexico's independence from Spain in 1810 (at this time Mexico chose to spell both "Mexico" and "Mexicano" with an "x" as opposed to the "j" customary in Spain), but most importantly, it represents for Mejicanos in this region a heritage that predates the territory becoming a part of the U.S. **See also: Chicano, Latino, Mexican American, Tejano.**

Mestizo: A term used to refer to persons of mixed European and Native American background.

Mexican American: Mexican Americans are persons of Mexican heritage living in the United States. **See also: Chicano, Mejicano, Latino,** or **Tejano**.

Mixteco: Mixtecos are one of the many Native American groups from Oaxaca who have migrated to urban and agricultural areas in Mexico and the United States, including Tijuana, Baja California, and Los Angeles, California, during the past thirty years.

Mural: Murals are works of art, applied directly to a wall or ceiling,

Longoria introdujo letra a la música después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. En la década de 1960 Los Relámpagos del Norte, un grupo norteño de México, sintetizaron un estilo de conjunto tejano más moderno con una tradición norteña más antigua para crear un estilo que alcanzó gran popularidad. El conjunto y la música norteña son muy populares entre las comunidades de clase obrera en la región fronteriza.

Música norteña: Véase: Música de conjunto.

Pai pai (escrito también Pa'ipai): Grupo indígena de la Sierra de Juárez en Baja California. Los pai pai viven en la comunidad de Santa Catarina. En la actualidad su población alcanza casi 200 habitantes. Pertenecen a la familia lingüística yumano.

Pajarero: Término que significa "cazadores de aves". También es un eufemismo que se usa para referirse a una clase de gente en la frontera que se gana la vida en parte atrapando y vendiendo aves silvestres.

Ramada: Estructura abierta con un techo fabricado con materiales naturales como paja o ramas. Una ramada ofrece techo a la gente que trabaja en los campos agrícolas, al altar durante la fiesta de los tohono o'odham o a los invitados que asisten a un día de campo familiar.

Seminoles negros o mascogos: Personas afroamericanas que originalmente vivieron con los indígenas seminoles en Florida. Junto con los indígenas seminoles, los seminoles negros inmigraron hacia el oeste de los Estados Unidos al Territorio Indígena (ahora el estado de Oklahoma), y más tarde, en el siglo XIX inmigraron hacia la parte norte de México huyendo de la esclavitud. En la década de 1870 regresaron a Estados Unidos para servir como guías en el ejército. En México se les llama "mascogos."

Tejano: Término que se refiere a las personas de Texas que tienen una herencia cultural mexicanoamericana. Esta es una identificación cultural basada en el nombre de la región, se relaciona con los primeros asentamientos hispanos y precede la creación de la frontera. **Véase también: Chicano, Mejicano.**

Tohono o'odham: Grupo de indígenas americanos, anteriormente conocidos por el nombre de pápago, que habitan en la región de

which often tell stories. Along the border, many persons of Hispanic heritage (among others, Chicanos and *cholos*) use murals to depict cultural heroes or struggles important to their identity. The imagery in the murals found in the border region often draws from significant historical events, religious symbols, and icons of protest.

Música norteña: **See: *Conjunto* music**

Pai Pai (also written **Pa'ipai**): A Native American group from the Sierra Juárez mountains in Baja California. The Pai Pai live in the community of Santa Catarina. Today, their population numbers approximately 200. They belong to the Yumano linguistic family.

Pajarero: The term *"pajareros,"* a Spanish word meaning "bird catchers," is a euphemism for a social class of people along the border who make part of their living trapping and selling wild birds.

Ramada: An open structure, roofed with natural materials such as thatch or branches (*"rama"* is the Spanish word for "branch"). A *ramada* may provide shelter for people while they work in agricultural fields, for a shrine during a Tohono O'odham fiesta, or for relatives during a family picnic.

Tejano: A term that refers to persons from Texas of Mexican American cultural heritage. It is a cultural identification based on the name of the region, connecting the region with the earlier Hispanic settlement, and pre-dates the creation of the border. **See also**: **Chicano**, **Mejicano**.

Tohono O'odham: The Tohono O'odham, formerly called the Papago Indians, are Native Americans who live in the Pimería Alta region, the central Arizona-Sonora area. Today, the Tohono O'odham live on land called the Papago Indian Reservation, set aside for their use and designated as such by the United States government. This land constitutes the Tohono O'odham Nation.

Tradition: Knowledge, beliefs, and practices passed down among people within a community, often through several generations. Traditions may include songs, dances, crafts, foods, celebrations, healing practices, storytelling, occupational skills, mural painting, lowriding, *vaquero* knowledge and skills, and other forms.

la Pimería Alta del área central de Arizona y Sonora. Hoy día los tohono o'odham viven en la reserva de los pápago, designada por el gobierno de Estados Unidos. Este territorio constituye la nación tohono o'odham.

Tradición: Conocimiento, creencias y prácticas transmitidas entre los habitantes de una comunidad, frecuentemente a través de generaciones. Las tradiciones incluyen canciones, danzas, juegos, artesanías, comida, celebraciones, rituales, prácticas curativas, narrativa, habilidades de trabajo, muralismo, *lowriding*, conocimiento y habilidades de vaquero y otras manifestaciones.

Vaquero: La cultura vaquera se originó en la Nueva España (ahora México) en el siglo XVI y se extendió hacia el norte en los territorios que ahora constituyen el oeste de Estados Unidos. La cultura del "cowboy" proviene de la cultura vaquera. Al vaquero tradicional se le conoce como vaquero completo porque maneja todos los trabajos que conciernen la ganadería. La forma de vida y cultura que rodea a la ganadería ha sido amenazada por la tecnología moderna y la especialización.

La Virgen de Guadalupe: Santa patrona de México también llamada "La Madre de México". La Virgen es un símbolo nacional que juega un papel importante en la expresión de la identidad mexicana, no sólo en México sino también en la región de la frontera y en cualquier parte a la que los mexicanos emigran. Su imagen se vislumbra en varios escenarios como por ejemplo en murales, iglesias y carros.

Yaqui: Grupo indígena radicado en el norte de México. A principios del siglo XX fueron perseguidos en México y huyeron hacia el norte al otro lado de la frontera. Muchos se establecieron en Arizona.

Vaquero: "*Vaquero*" means "cowboy" in Spanish. *Vaquero* culture originated in New Spain (later to become Mexico) in the sixteenth century and spread northwards into areas that are now the western United States. U.S. cowboy culture evolved from *vaquero* culture. The traditional *vaquero* is known as a *vaquero completo*, because he knows the entire range of the cattle business. This way of life and culture surrounding the cattle industry has been under threat from modern technology and from specialization.

The Virgin of Guadalupe: The patron saint of Mexico. Also called the Mother of Mexico, the Virgin is a national symbol that plays a significant role in the expression of Mexican identity, not only in Mexico, but in the border region and wherever Mexicans migrate. Her image appears in a variety of settings, such as on murals, in churches, and on cars.

Yaqui: A Native American group who lived in northern Mexico. During the early twentieth century they were persecuted in Mexico and fled north across the border. Many settled in Arizona.

CORRIDO

En honor a Kennedy

Voy a cantarles señores,
sólo así puedo expresar
el dolor de mis dolores
mi gran pena y mi pesar.

Año del sesenta y tres
del veintidós de noviembre,
entre la ciudad de Dallas
mataron al Presidente.

Tres balazos bien certeros
el asesino tiró,
dos dieron al Presidente,
el otro al Gobernador.

Y era casi el medio día
cuando este caso pasó,
donde a este gran Presidente
la vida se le quitó.

Que Dios lo tenga en su gloria
como ejemplo de razón,
y a su familia aconseja
mucha fe y resignación.

Aquí termino señores
la tragedia que escribí,
con dolor de mis dolores
en honor a Kennedy.

In Honor of Kennedy

I'm going to sing for you, ladies and gentlemen,
Only in this way can I express
This grief of affliction,
My great sorrow and heavy heart.

The year of sixty-three
On the twenty-second of November,
In the city of Dallas,
They killed the President.

Three very well-aimed bullets
The assassin fired,
Two hit the President,
The other hit the Governor.

And it was almost noon
When this happened,
When the great President's
Life was taken.

May God have him in his glory
As an example of reason,
And counsel his family
To have much faith and resignation.

Here I end my song, good people,
The tragedy that I wrote,
With the grief of affliction,
In honor of Kennedy.

por/by Gastón Ponce Castellanos, grabado por el Trío Internacional/recorded by the Trío Internacional

Cortesía de/ Courtesy of Dan William Dickey, *The Kennedy* Corridos: *A Study of the Ballads of a Mexican American Hero.* Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, Monograph No.4, The University of Texas at Austin.

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FOLKLORE RESEARCH RESOURCES

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FUENTES PARA LA INVESTIGACIÓN DE LA CULTURA POPULAR

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● This publication provides examples and practical tips on collecting the kind of folklore found in families of all kinds. It includes stories from many families, divided into different categories, such as immigration stories and stories about family characters. It also discusses the importance of family photographs and includes a guide to collecting your own family stories.

● *Esta publicación ofrece ejemplos y sugerencias útiles para recopilar tradiciones populares de la familia. Contiene historias de familias, divididas en diferentes categorias, como por ejemplo historias de inmigración y personajes de la familia. Considera la importancia de las fotos familiares e incluye una guia para la recopilación de las historias en tu familia.*

Belanus, Betty, ed. 1985. *Folklore in the Classroom.*

● A loose-leaf collection of articles that provide an introduction to folklore and folk art ideas that work well in the school curriculum.

● *Una colección de articulos que ofrece la introducción a los conceptos de la cultura y las artes populares que funcionan dentro del plan escolar.*

It can be ordered for $5 from/*Se puede solicitar por $5 dólares a:*

Indiana Historical Bureau
140 North Senate
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Dorson, Richard M., ed. 1983. *The Handbook of American Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

● This publication serves as an excellent source of information about almost any kind of traditional folk culture, folk music, and folk art you can imagine. The volume is organized into numerous short essays on topics as varied as family folklore, religious folklore, ethnic folklore, folk healers, foodways, crafts, vernacular architecture, children's folklore, the varieties of folklore research, and the presentation and preservation of folklore.

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McDowell, Marsha. 1987. *Folk Arts in Education: A Resource Handbook.*

- A handy, loose-leaf resource guide to a variety of folklore curriculum ideas and project descriptions that have been planned and carried out in schools around the country.
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- For additional reference sources for folklore studies in general, fieldwork and how to do it, and also archival and preservation issues, see *A Teacher's Guide to Folklife Resources for K-12 Classrooms* and *Folklife and Fieldwork*, American Folklife Center, The Library of Congress. Single copies of both publications are available free from the American Folklife Center. There is a postage charge for multiple copies.
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●

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● *Para información de cómo obtener películas y videos sobre la cultura popular de Estados Unidos, véase* Center for Southern Folklore's American Folklore Films and Videotapes: An Index. *Este catálogo contiene más de 1800 títulos con un índice temático, anotaciones sobre los videos y películas, la ubicación de colecciones especiales y una lista de títulos con la dirección de los distribuidores. Se puede solicitar un catálogo gratis a:*

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● The following films and videos are available for purchase and rent from/*Las siguientes películas se pueden comprar o rentar en:*

Cinema Guild, Inc.
1697 Broadway, Suite 506
New York, NY 10019-5904
(212) 246-5522

Birthwrite: Growing Up Hispanic. Produced by Jesús Salvador Treviño. Directed by Luis R. Torres. 1989. 57 minutes. Video.

Chicano Park. Directed by Marilyn Mulford. 1989. 60 minutes. Film/video.

Yo Soy. Directed by Jesús Salvador Treviño and Jose Luis Ruiz. 1985. 60 minutes. Video.

Yo Soy Chicano. Directed by Jesus Salvador Treviño. 1972. 60 minutes. Film/video.

The Art of Resistance. Directed by Susana Ortiz. 1994. 26 minutes. Video.

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Invisible Indians: Mixtec Farm Workers in California. Produced by Div. of Information Technology, University of California, Davis. 1993. Video.

Oaxacalifornia. Produced by Trisha Ziff and Sylvia Stevens. 1995. Video (National Educational Film Festival Gold Apple Award).

Smithsonian/Folkways and Folkways Sound Recordings/*Grabaciones Smithsonian/Folkways y Folkways:*

Borderlands: From Conjunto to Chicken Scratch. 1993. Smithsonian/Folkways #40418.

Polkeros de Ben Tavera King. 1983. *Border Bash.* Folkways #6528.

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Other Sound Recordings/*Otras Grabaciones:*

The Chicano Experience. 1980. Folklyric.

Conjunto. 1988. Rounder Records.

Martinez, Narciso. 1989. *The Father of the Tex-Mex Conjunto.* Folklyric.

Texas-Mexican Border Music. 1974. Folklyric.

NARRACIÓN DEL VIDEO

Parte 1:

HISTORIA *e* IDENTIDAD

La frontera internacional entre Estados Unidos y México se extiende tres mil doscientos kilómetros desde la punta sureña de Texas hasta el extremo noreste de Baja California. En esta región viven más de nueve millones de personas. Al recorrerla se van encontrando una serie de contrastes, tanto en el paisaje como en las tradiciones y la forma de ser de la gente. Ante tal diversidad, ¿podríamos hablar de una "cultura de la frontera"?

En 1993, el Festival de las Culturas Populares, organizado por la Institución Smithsonian, invitó a 85 residentes de la frontera para que visitaran la ciudad de Washington y hablaran de sus costumbres.

Olivia Cadaval: *La frontera tiene profundas raíces. Históricamente podemos aprender mucho acerca de la gente de China, los mixtecos del centro de México, de los indígenas nativos, de cholos y chicanos. En la frontera se da una dinámica intercultural muy compleja.*

Blaine Juan: *Me llamo Blaine Juan. Soy de un pueblo llamado Woog I-Huduñk, conocido por los blancos como San Simón. Esta es la nación tohono o'odham, localizada a 168 kilómetros al oeste de Tucson, cerca de la frontera mexicana.*

Jim Griffith: *¿Te podría preguntar algo tonto? ¿Por qué se establecieron tan cerca de la frontera?*

Blaine Juan: *Te respondería que fueron los blancos los que pusieron la frontera allí.*

Carmen Cristina Moreno: *Antes de Cortés, antes de los españoles, estábamos los indígenas. Yo soy yaqui, parte de una nueva raza.*

Para comprender mejor la cultura de la frontera necesitamos conocer su pasado. En mayo de 1846, tras la guerra de Texas, Estados Unidos volvió a entrar en conflicto con México. En cumplimiento del "Destino Manifiesto", Estados Unidos recorrió la frontera más al sur: del río Nueces al río Bravo.

La guerra entre Estados Unidos y México terminó en 1848 con el tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, que definió una nueva frontera entre ambos países. Muy pronto empezaron los problemas: se encontraron errores en el mapa utilizado para marcar la línea.

Lo peor, sin embargo, fue que esta división separó familias, tribus y poblaciones mexicanas.

Jim Griffith: *Cuando se estableció la frontera, el territorio ocupado por mexicanos y grupos indígenas quedó – de pronto – dividido en dos. Se cortó a la mitad nuestra región cultural.*

Part 1:

HISTORY *and* IDENTITY

The international border between the United States and Mexico stretches over 2,000 miles from the southern tip of Texas to the northernmost point of Baja California. More than nine million people live along the border. Just as the landscape changes dramatically over these miles, so do the people and traditions found there. Is there something that can be called "border culture"?

The 1993 Festival of American Folklife brought eighty-five people from the border to Washington, D.C. For five hot, July days, these border residents shared their culture.

> **Olivia Cadaval:** The border has great depth. Historically, we can learn a lot about different people from China, from the Mixteca in Central Mexico, the Native Americans that were already there before. The new identities that are forming. The *cholos*, the Chicanos, there is this very complex way of intercultural dynamics happening at the border.
>
> **Blaine Juan:** My name is Blaine Juan, and I'm from a village called Wo:g I-Huduñk (Woog E Hudungk). Now, for the white people, it's the San Simon village. It's the Tohono O'odham Nation, and where I live is about 105 miles west of Tucson, which is the main Tohono O'odham reservation, and we live by the Mexican border.
>
> **Jim Griffith:** I suppose I could ask you a silly question. I could say, how come you settled so close to the border?
>
> **Blaine Juan:** I guess the way I probably would answer that is it's the white people who put the border there.
>
> **Carmen Cristina Moreno:** We're going past this Cortés stuff, past this Spanish stuff, into the indigenous thing, and I'm Yaqui, I'm a member of the new race.

To better understand border culture, it is necessary to learn about the history of today's border. In May of 1846, in the wake of the Texas Revolution of 1835, the United States declared war on Mexico. Asserting the ideology of Manifest Destiny, the United States pushed the boundary between the United States and Mexico further south, from the Nueces River to the Rio Grande.

The Mexican-American War concluded in 1848, with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty defined a new boundary line between the United States and Mexico. Almost immediately, the boundary became a source of dispute when surveyors discovered inaccuracies in the map used to form the border.

More importantly, however, the border divided Indian tribal territories, Mexican communities, and families.

Arturo Carrillo Strong: *Muchos ciudadanos mexicanos que llevaban años viviendo ahí, repentinamente quedaron convertidos en ciudadanos americanos. Algunos quisieron quedarse pero la mayoría regresó a México.*

Jim Griffith: *Esta región cultural, abarca los dos lados de la frontera internacional. Las familias antiguas del sur de Arizona, por ejemplo, tienen mucho en común con las viejas familias del norte de Sonora, México; es común que resulten parientes. La razón, claro, es la frontera, una división que no es algo natural como el Gran Cañón, sino una línea artificial que primero se dibuja en el mapa y después en la tierra.*

El movimiento migratorio en la frontera es tema frecuente en las noticias, a pesar de ser un movimiento histórico.

Enrique Lamadrid: *La inmigración para nosotros, como hispanos del suroeste de Estados Unidos, es una contradicción, porque desde nuestra perspectiva los verdaderos inmigrantes son los angloamericanos, que llegaron durante la guerra entre México y Estados Unidos. Nos dijeron que desde ese momento éramos americanos, que la línea dividía nuestras comunidades y que ahora nos llamaríamos migrantes. Con excepción de nuestros vecinos nativos, Estados Unidos es un país de migrantes; todos los somos.*

El Festival de Culturas Populares de 1993 reunió tanto a fronterizos recién llegados, como a personas de arraigo centenario.

Blaine Juan: *Tenemos antepasados en México; cuando se trazó la frontera se volvió muy difícil visitarlos. Hoy es mucho más difícil. Yo cruzo, pero no por la entrada principal.*

Olivia Cadaval: *La historia oral es muy importante.*

Benito Peralta: El coyote es un animal vivo, pero creído; lo engañan cada rato. Hasta aquí no más.

Olivia Cadaval: *La historia oral es la construcción de la historia misma; le enseña a la gente su pasado y ayuda a identificarse con la tierra donde vive.*

Dub Warrior: *Soy descendiente de los scouts seminoles. En 1870, antes de convertirnos en exploradores seminoles, vivíamos en el estado de Coahuila, México, en un pueblo llamado Nacimiento de los Negros.*

Dub Warrior: *Siempre lo he dicho: si no sabes hacia dónde vas, no sabes de dónde vienes. Tienes que saber de dónde vienes para saber a dónde vas.*

Ofelia Santos López: Yo soy de Oaxaca, pero vivo en Baja California. Yo salí, yo salí Oaxaca, tiene como, tenía como diez y ocho años cuando salí de Oaxaca. De mi tierra me vine para Culiacán, Sinaloa, a trabajar tomate. Allí estuve trabajando de dos hijos; de tres hijos me fui al algodón, a pizcar algodón. Mi vida fue muy triste, mi vida es muy, mi cuerpo es muy trabajadora, muy trabajar el campo. Llegué aquí, a Sinaloa, allí cayó un dinero y allí me vine para Baja California.

Las personas que viven en la frontera están orgullosas de su historia. Además, hay otras cosas que ayudan a definir la cultura en la frontera.

Enrique Lamadrid: *Puedes tener historia pero eso es algo que ya sucedió. La identidad en cambio, es algo que construyes para ti: aquí y ahora.*

Jim Griffith: When the border came through, there were people already, Mexican and Native American people, already living in that country, and the border came — whop — right down the middle, and it split our cultural region in half.

Arturo Carrillo Strong: A lot of the people that were Mexican citizens, and living in their homes that they had lived in for many years, all of a sudden became American citizens. Some wanted to stay, and a lot of them went back to Mexico.

Jim Griffith: And this region, this cultural region stretches on both sides of the international border. Really, the people, a lot of the old families living in southern Arizona, have a lot in common with the old families living in the northern part of the state of Sonora in Mexico. It's the same families quite often. The reason, of course, is that the border came into the country. There wasn't always a border. A border isn't something like the Grand Canyon. A border is an artificial line that gets drawn on a map, and later gets marked on the ground.

Modern-day immigration frequently brings border crossings into the news. But migration and immigration have been going on throughout the history of the border.

Enrique Lamadrid: Immigration is a contradiction to us as Hispanics in the Southwest, because from our perspective the original immigrants are Anglo, is Anglo-America. Anglo-America came in and conquered us, in the Mexican-American War, and said, "Guess what, now you are Americans, and guess what, here is a new line that we are using to divide your communities, and guess what, now we are going to call you the migrants." And so, in the United States, we are a country of migrants, all of us are migrants except our Native American neighbors.

Some of the people who participated in the Festival came to the border recently; others have been living in the region for centuries.

Blaine Juan: We have ancestors in Mexico. And when they put that border, that kind of cut us off, so it was kind of hard to visit our ancestors on the Mexican side. Especially right now, it's really hard. I go across, but I don't go through the main gate.

Olivia Cadaval: Storytelling is very important.

Benito Peralta: (translated by Olivia Cadaval)*The coyote is a smart animal but he trusts too much. They get him every time.*

Olivia Cadaval: Storytelling is really the history-making, is really giving people the history and identity of who they are and how their existence is connected to the land, is connected to the history of an area.

Dub Warrior: I am one of the descendants of that, from the Seminole Indian scouts. And at the time that we became Seminole Indian scouts, in 1870, prior to that we were down in Mexico at the little town we have a couple of participants here with, from the little town which is in Coahuila, Mexico, the state of Coahuila. The name of the town is Nacimiento de los Negros, which means in English "where the Blacks were born."

Like I always says, if you don't know where you're going, you don't know where you are coming from. You gotta know where you are

La interacción del idioma, el sentido de compartir el espacio y los problemas comunes de la frontera, también ayudan a definir su cultura.

> **Enrique Lamadrid:** *La gente que vive en el norte de México tiene más cosas en común con la de California, Arizona, Nuevo México y Texas, que con la que vive en las capitales de ambos países. Dependemos los unos de los otros. En muchos aspectos la cultura en la frontera difiere de la que existe en el resto del país.*

> **Carmen Cristina Moreno:** *Cuando voy a México me siento muy bien en la frontera, pero en el interior del país me siento extranjera.*

> **Enrique Lamadrid:** *Es difícil vivir en la frontera. Cada vez que hablas tienes que negociar tu identidad. ¿Hablo en inglés? ¿En español? ¿Qué seré? ¿Qué haré? A mí me da igual, pero español e inglés son tan diferentes que parece haber dos "yo".*

> **Jim Griffith:** *La frontera no es solamente una línea divisoria. A veces es difícil cruzarla, otras no tanto. Tiene su propia cultura.*

Cuando la frontera crea su propia identidad, simultáneamente influyes en la identidad de la gente que vive ahí.

coming from, to find out where you're going. And where you're going, you have to have been somewheres.

Ofelia Santos López: *I'm from Oaxaca but live in Baja California. I left when I was about eighteen years old to go to Culiacán, Sinaloa, to pick tomatoes. I had two children; when I had a third child, I went to pick cotton. My life was very sad. I worked hard in the fields. When I made some money in Sinaloa, I came to Baja California.*

The people of the border are proud of their histories, but history is not the only thing that has helped to shape border culture.

Enrique Lamadrid: You may have a history, but a history is one thing, that's what happened. An identity is something else, an identity is something that you put together for yourself here and now.

The interplay of language, a sense of shared space, and problems common to both sides of the border also help to define border culture.

Enrique Lamadrid: The people along the northern states of Mexico have more in common with the people in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas than they do with the capitals of the various countries. We depend on each other. A lot of people talk about border culture as being something distinct from the main cultures and the two countries, and in a lot of aspects we would agree with that.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: Every time I go to Mexico, to the borderlands, I feel really comfortable. When I get deep into Mexico, I feel alien.

Enrique Lamadrid: This is a very complicated place to live. Every time you open your mouth, you have to negotiate your identity. When I open my mouth, is it English? Is it Spanish? What am I going to be? What am I going to do? It's the same me, but Spanish and English are so different that it's like different me's at the same time.

Jim Griffith: The border isn't the simple dividing line. It's extremely porous sometimes, it's extremely hard to get through sometimes. It's not always porous and hard to get through at the appropriate times, and it's also a culture all its own.

At the same time the border creates its own cultural identity, it complicates the identities of individuals who live there.

Parte 2:

CELEBRACIONES *e* IDENTIDAD

Las creencias de una persona son parte esencial de su identidad. En la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos se realizan festividades que reflejan la diversidad de creencias.

> **Jim Griffith:** *Es muy difícil hablar de una sola cosa, por ejemplo de las flores, o de la música, sin hablar de las otras cosas que forman parte de la celebración, ya que éstas incorporan una gran variedad de elementos. Las flores van con la comida, la comida con la música, la música con las imágenes de santos; se forma un todo que incluye a dos naciones y a los artistas que viven ahí.*

Por ejemplo, la danza pascola juega un papel importante en las ceremonias tradicionales de la nación indígena tohono o'odham del sur de Arizona.

> **Blaine Juan:** *Empecé a bailar cuando tenía 12 años. La danza dura toda la noche y no puedes interrumpirla para dormir; tienes que bailar. Tienes que practicar de tres a cinco años para llegar a considerarte un pascola.*

> **Jim Griffith:** *Estos son los tohono o'odham de la frontera entre Arizona y Sonora, al oeste del gran desierto de Tucson. La danza se llama "pascola". Esta es una danza ceremonial, sagrada. Los danzantes se persignan frente el altar antes de empezar. La danza de la cultura tohono o'odham es parte de una compleja mezcla de creencias indígenas y cristianas.*

> **Blaine Juan:** Tenemos que hacer *la señal de la cruz para empezar a bailar, por eso trajimos a Santa Cecilia, patrona de los músicos. A su lado está San Javier, una imagen de Magdalena. La danza se realiza en ocasiones especiales, como cuando alguien está enfermo. Mientras lo atiende el curandero nosotros bailamos, y cuando terminamos cada pascola hace la señal de la cruz sobre el enfermo. Esta ceremonia puede durar toda la noche.*

> **Jim Griffith:** *La gente se preguntará ¿qué traen alrededor de las piernas? Son los capullos de una polilla que vive en el desierto. Abren el capullo, le ponen piedritas y hacen ese sonido que parece murmullo. Así el danzante se convierte en otro instrumento musical.*

> **Blaine Juan:** *Formamos una línea y damos cuatro pasos hacia atrás. Los ancianos dicen: "Si quieres matar un conejo, no te lo comas hasta haber matado cuatro." Cualquier cosa que hagas la tienes que hacer cuatro veces, recordando a Este, Oeste, Norte y Sur.*

> **Jim Griffith:** *Una cosa que quiero destacar es la extraordinaria delicadeza de la música. La música de violín se aprende de oído, no se escribe ni se aprende en escuelas. Son pocas las personas de la comunidad que saben tocar. Es una tradición oral.*

La danza pascola es sólo uno de los muchos eventos tradicionales que distinguen a la cultura de los tohono o'odham. Cuando la comunidad se reúne, la comida y las imágenes religiosas adquieren gran relevancia.

> **Jim Griffith:** *Estos son un mundo y una cultura en los que las celebraciones se anun-*

Part 2:

CELEBRATIONS *and* IDENTITY

A person's traditional beliefs are an important part of his or her identity. Along the border between Mexico and the United States, celebrations display the different beliefs of the many people who live there.

> **Jim Griffith:** It's so hard to talk about one thing, you know, paper flowers or music, without talking about food and the other things that all go to make a part of the occasion, because these celebrations, we're talking about celebrations along the border and our little tiny part of the border, these celebrations are so complex, and they involve all these different things. The paper flowers fit into the food, the food fits into the music, the music fits into the pictures of the saints; it all sort of goes together into a complex whole, and it involves two nations and lots of different artists living in different places.

The Pascola dance plays an important part in the traditional celebrations and ceremonies of the Tohono O'odham Indian Nation of southern Arizona.

> **Blaine Juan:** I started when I was twelve. The thing is, if you want to dance, when you start younger, you can't go to sleep if it's all night. You have to push it to do the dance. And you have to do it at least three to five years in order to be called a Pascola.

> **Jim Griffith:** These are the O'odham, Tohono O'odham people from the Arizona Sonora borderland, west of Tucson, the big desert country west of Tucson, and they're doing a dance which in English is called Pascola, *Pacola* in O'odham. And it's a ritual dance, a sacred dance. You'll notice there's an altar here at the back of the *ramada* and you'll notice that several of the dancers bless themselves before starting. It is a part of a very complex mixture, a complex blending of Native ideas and Christian ideas that make up the Tohono O'odham culture.

> **Blaine Juan:** We have to make the sign of the cross when we start dancing. That's why we brought our patron musician saint, St. Cecelia. And on the side is St. Javier, a picture from Magdalena. And it's true that we do this for certain occasions. Sometimes there's a sickness that's involved in this Pascola. So what we have to do is at the same time the healer is in there with the sick person, we go ahead and play and dance first, and after we dance, each Pascola besides the player will have to go over there and make the sign of the cross on the person that's sick. And sometimes this will go all night.

> **Jim Griffith:** I bet people are wondering what the leg rattles are. They are the cocoons of moths, a special kind of a moth that lives in the desert, and you find the cocoons, and you tie them into long strings. You slit them open, and you take the moth inside out, and you put little pebbles in, and they make this wonderful rustling sound, so that the dancer really turns into a third instrument, another musical instrument accompanying the music.

> *cian por radio. El radio se escucha en toda la reservación o'odham. Cada domingo hay un programa en el idioma nativo en el que se anuncian las fiestas. Si uno escucha el radio, sabe que está invitado y va.*

En las fiestas o'odham, se decora la capilla. Algunos adornos se hacen en la reservación y otros vienen del otro lado de la frontera de México. Anastasio León elabora gran parte de los marcos que decoran las capillas tohono o'odham, pero él no es de la comunidad; vive en Imuris, México, cerca de la frontera con Arizona. Anastasio aprendió el oficio de su padre, Jesús León, artesano y titiritero. Anastasio y los tohono o'odham comparten ciertos objetos sagrados, a pesar de estar separados por la frontera.

En Magdalena, México, cada cuatro de octubre se organiza una fiesta para honrar a San Francisco. Se reúne gente de ambos lados de la frontera y los tohono o'odham adquieren las obras de Anastasio para enmarcar las imágenes de sus propios santos.

En el Festival de Washington, algunos residentes de la frontera representaron una procesión diaria en honor a la Virgen de Guadalupe.

> **Norma Cantú:** *El otro día oí que en México cada pueblo tiene su santo. Nosotros en Estados Unidos, como pueblo chicano, como una tribu, tenemos a la Virgen de Guadalupe.*

Gloria Moroyoqui, descendiente de los yaquis de Sonora, México, hizo esta elaborada imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe para traerla al Festival. Jim Griffith, otro residente de la frontera, habla sobre el trabajo de doña Gloria.

> **Jim Griffith:** *Es una artista consumada con el papel. Las cosas que hace están íntimamente relacionadas con las celebraciones. Hace piñatas, decora cascarones de huevo llenos de confeti y confecciona flores de papel para adornar altares y tumbas.*

Doña Gloria ha hecho flores casi toda su vida.

> **Gloria Moroyoqui:** Yo aprendí a hacer las flores por medio de mi mamá. Cada vez que hago una flor, siento mucha alegría, mucho gusto porque siento como si mi mamá me estuviera enseñado todavía. Me siento muy feliz.

> **Norma Cantú:** Y estas flores ¿usted las hizo para mandarlas aquí?

> **Gloria Moroyoqui:** Sí, las hice para mandarlas aquí porque me las pidieron y pues yo todas las cosas pienso que las hago con mucho amor.

> **Jim Griffith:** *Algunas personas han preguntado ¿por qué usar flores artificiales si las naturales son tan bellas? Lo que sucede es que en el desierto, donde vivimos, no siempre hay flores. Las flores naturales son bonitas pero se marchitan y mueren. Para mantener las tradiciones es necesario ceder en algunas cosas. Lo importante es continuar con la esencia de la tradición, sin preocuparse tanto por el aspecto físico.*

En comparación con la comunidad tohono o'odham del sur de Arizona, los mixtecos de Tijuana, México, son inmigrantes recien llegados a la frontera. Ahí continuaron con las tradiciones de su natal Oaxaca.

En el Festival de Washington, los mixtecos participaron en la construcción de un altar para recordar el día de muertos, que se celebra del 31 de octubre al dos de noviembre.

> **Blaine Juan:** We all line up right here to go back four times. See, the elderly tell us, if you want to kill a rabbit, don't eat it until you kill four of them. So anything you do, you have to do it four times, commemorating the east, west, south, and north.

> **Jim Griffith:** One thing I'd like to remark on is this extraordinarily delicate music. This violin music has lived in this community by ear. This is not written-down music. This is not music you can learn in school. There are very few violin players even in the community who play this music, and it's strictly a living, oral tradition.

The Pascola dance is only one part of a traditional event for the Tohono O'odham. When members of the community gather, food and religious decorations play an important role.

> **Jim Griffith:** This is a culture and this is a world where these celebrations are announced on the radio. And the radio goes out over the whole reservation in O'odham. Every Sunday there's a radio program in the native language of this reservation, and the parties are announced then. So if you can hear the radio, you know you're invited, and you go.

At the O'odham feasts, decorations adorn the chapel walls. Some of the decorations are made on the reservation, but others are from across the border, in Mexico. Many of the painted picture frames that hang in the Tohono O'odham chapels are made by Anastasio León. Anastasio León is not from the Tohono O'odham community. He lives and works in Imuris, Mexico, over the border from Arizona. Anastasio learned his skills from his father, Jesús León, who was a craftsman and a puppeteer. Although they live on opposite sides of the border, Anastasio León and the Tohono O'odham share some of the same sacred objects.

Every year on the 4th of October, a celebration honors Saint Francis in Magdalena, Mexico. People come from both sides of the border to this celebration. At the fiesta in Magdalena, the Tohono O'odham often purchase Anastasio's painted picture frames to bring back to Arizona to display pictures of their own saints.

At the Festival in Washington, a daily procession was held to honor the Virgin de Guadalupe. The procession brought together residents from all along the border.

> **Norma Cantú:** It struck me the other day how some people were saying that every *pueblo* in Mexico has its saint. Well, we in the United States have, I think, as a *pueblo chicano*, as a tribe, we have the Virgin of Guadalupe as an image.

Gloria Moroyoqui, of Yaqui Indian descent, made this elaborate image of the Virgin de Guadalupe at her home in Sonora, Mexico. She brought the picture with her to the Festival. Jim Griffith, a fellow border resident, spoke of Doña Gloria and her work:

> **Jim Griffith:** She is a consummate artist with paper. And she makes things, the things that she makes are intimately connected with celebrations. She makes *piñatas* for parties, decorated eggshells filled with confetti, *cascarones* for kids to whack each other over the head with at parties, and she makes paper flowers to make altars beautiful with and to hang on the graves of the dead.

Laura Velasco: El altar que presentamos en este día es el altar de muertos, que es una tradición mixteca de la mixteca baja de Oaxaca. Esta es una tradición que los mixtecos han festejado desde hace más de 500 años, desde mucho antes de la llegada de los españoles. El 31 de noviembre (sic) estamos esperando que lleguen los niños, los muertos niños que les llamamos, es el día de los angelitos. En la tradición mixteca el que los niños puedan venir durante la noche, puedan re-encontrarse con sus adultos, con los padres, con los hermanos, con sus abuelos y lleguen a la casa y encuentren comida, encuentren un olor que los guíe, encuentren olores, es como una forma de darles vida de nuevo. En este altar ahora algo muy importante son las velas. Las velas del altar son la luz que va a guiar a los muertos para que lleguen hasta la casa.

> **Juvencio Extrada Maceda** (Francisco Paulino Sierra Cruz, traductor): Esta vela chiquita es para los niños pequeños. La vela que tengo en el brazo izquierdo es la vela para los adultos o la persona de más importancia en la comunidad o en la casa. Así deben de hacer ustedes muchachos, conservar la autoridad del mayor y menor, respetar uno y otro.

La comida es un elemento importante en la celebración del día de muertos. En el Festival de Culturas Populares los mixtecos prepararon platillos tradicionales, como el mole. No toda la comida del altar es para consumirse. La fruta, por ejemplo, solamente se utiliza para adornarlo. Laura Velasco nos explica:

> **Laura Velasco:** La comida que podemos ofrecerle a los niños es una comida suave, no es una comida fuerte. Ahora está la tequila y las cervezas pero porque estamos pensando que hoy van a llegar los adultos y la bebida y el alcohol es un elemento importante en las fiestas, en la vida de los mexicanos y de los indígenas y es parte de los elementos que pueden ayudar que una fiesta sea una fiesta más feliz. Entonces nosotros estamos ofreciendo a los muertos lo mejor de nosotros.

Las creencias ayudan a formar y a reforzar la identidad de las personas. A lo largo de la frontera, las creencias se manifiestan de diferentes formas. Independientemente de los conflictos que origina una frontera binacional, la gente ha logrado mantener vivas sus tradiciones.

Doña Gloria has been making flowers for most of her life.

> **Gloria Moroyoqui:** *I learned to make flowers from my mother. Every time I make a flower I feel a great happiness and great pleasure, because I feel as if my mother were still teaching me. I feel very happy.*
>
> **Norma Cantú:** *Did you make these flowers for the Festival?*
>
> **Gloria Moroyoqui:** *Yes, I made them to send here because they asked me, and when I make things I make them with lots of love.*
>
> **Jim Griffith:** A couple of people have said, "Gee why do you use artificial flowers when real flowers are so beautiful?" We live in the desert. There aren't always real flowers. Real flowers are beautiful today, and they'll be wilted and dead and gone tomorrow. It's hard to realize that in real life, one makes constant compromises in order to keep tradition going. And it's the tradition that you carry in your heart, that is important to continue, rather necessarily than all the outward aspects of that tradition.

Compared to the Tohono O'odham community of southern Arizona, the Mixtecos of Tijuana, Mexico, are recent migrants to the border. When they moved to the border from Oaxaca, this group of Mixtecos brought their own celebration traditions with them.

In Washington, D.C., the Mixtecos built an altar for the Day of the Dead, which normally takes place from October 31st to November 2nd.

> **Laura Velasco:** *This is a Day of the Dead altar, a tradition from the lower Mixteca region in Oaxaca. The Mixtecos have celebrated this tradition for over 500 years, long before the Spaniards' arrival. On November [October] 31st, we await the arrival of the dead children, as we call them. It is the day of the little angels. In this tradition the children arrive in the evening to rejoin their parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents. They come home to find food and smells to guide them. It is a way of giving them life again. At this altar, candles are very important. They will guide the dead to their house.*
>
> **Juvencio Extrada Maceda** (Francisco Paulino Sierra Cruz, translator): *This small candle is for the children. The candle to my left is for adults, for the most important person in the community or the home. In this way you boys need to uphold authority — the oldest and youngest — to respect each.*

Food is an important part of the Mixteco Day of the Dead ceremony. They prepared some of the Mixteco food, like *mole*, at the Festival. Not all of the food at the Day of the Dead ceremony is for eating. Different fruit adorn the altar. Laura Velasco explains their purpose:

> **Laura Velasco:** *The food that we offer the children is light, not heavy. The tequila and beer are on the altar today for the adults. Alcoholic beverages are an important element in Mexican and Indian fiestas. They are one element that makes a fiesta a happier occasion. We offer our best to the dead.*

Beliefs help to define and confirm a person's identity. These beliefs are celebrated in many different ways along the border. Despite the daily difficulties created by an international border, people find ways to keep their traditional beliefs alive.

Parte 3:
ARTE POPULAR *e* IDENTIDAD

El arte popular puede llegar a expresar la posición del artista respecto a los problemas políticos, sociales, de la familia o la identidad de grupo. Las expresiones artísticas populares también pueden traer historias del pasado al presente.

> **Carlos Callejo:** *Los murales son un excelente medio para transmitir tradiciones y leyendas, porque mucha gente los ve y muestra a las nuevas generaciones algo de historia e identidad.*

Carlos Callejo nació en El Paso en 1951 y siendo joven se mudó a Los Angeles. El clima político a finales de los sesenta determinó mucho su trabajo.

> **Carlos Callejo:** *En esos años sucedieron muchas cosas: la guerra de Vietnam, varios casos de abuso policiaco. En mi comunidad, Vietman fue relevante por el alto indice de chicanos que estaban muriendo. El movimiento muralista sentó buena parte de sus raices en esta realidad política. El mura-lismo difiere de la pintura de caballete en su mensaje: ésta última es la interpretació que el artista hace de su mundo. Los murales son un proyecto de arte comunitario y el artista es sólo una herramienta que plasma luchas, aspiraciones o necesidades de la comunidad.*

En la frontera, jóvenes conocidos con el nombre de "cholos" también se expresan a través de los murales. Así como los conflictos políticos de los años sesenta y setenta influyeron sobre Carlos, así influye la política actual en el arte de los cholos.

> **Gustavo Grado Tiscareño:** Al principio, nosotros empezamos a hacer murales de nosotros mismos, nuestra forma de vida, los problemas del barrio. Después, eso fue la primera fase, después fuimos a otra fase que empezamos a tomar problemas sociales, empezamos a hacer algo por nuestra comunidad. Los principales problemas que hay en el barrio, y nosotros los ponemos en los murales, es la represión policíaca, el rechazo social, la ignorancia que tienen hacia nosotros.

En el Festival de Culturas Populares, cholos del grupo "Brigada por la paz" platicaron de su vida y de su arte.

> **Gustavo Grado Tiscareño:** Bueno, nosotros, con los murales, vamos a la gente, vamos a conocer a la gente cosas que no se pueden decir abiertamente con palabras, cosas que si las decimos abiertamente, se nos reprime — la policía, la sociedad, la gente en general. Toda la gente lo puede ver, no tenemos que andar diciéndolo a cada persona en secreto, así lo ponemos en un muro, todo la gente que pasa lo ve y se da cuenta de los problemas.

En la frontera surgen muchos canales de expresión. Los *lowriders* se valen de sus carros: los decoran y los acercan al piso lo más posible.

> **Romy Frías:** *Se trata de ir muy abajo, de tener mucho cromo y muchos colores brillantes que expresen nuestro espíritu festivo. Queremos mostrar al mundo que estamos*

Part 3: EXPRESSIVE TRADITIONS *and* IDENTITY

Traditional art can do many different things: make a statement about political and social problems; unite a family; or reinforce group identity. These traditional artistic expressions can also bring past histories into the present.

> **Carlos Callejo:** Murals are an excellent way to pass on some of these traditions and some of these legends, some of these stories, and it's effective because they're in public places accessible to everyone, so it reaches literally thousands upon thousands of people. And so it's a way to bring some of this identity, some of this history to the new generations.

Carlos Callejo was born in El Paso in 1951 and moved to Los Angeles as a teenager. The political climate of the late 1960s motivated much of Carlos work.

> **Carlos Callejo:** During that time we were experiencing a lot of turmoil. Vietnam War, there was a lot of issues of police brutality. In my particular community, those issues were prevalent, along with, not just the Vietnam War, but the high death rate of Chicanos dying in Vietnam. So the mural movement is very much rooted into your political realities. You have to understand that mural art is a little different from easel painting. Easel painting is basically a person's personal endeavor. A view of how that person views the exterior world. On the other hand, mural painting is actually kind of more of a community art project; the artist basically becomes like a tool, a tool to portraying the struggles, the aspirations, the needs of that particular community.

Along the border, young people known as *cholos* also express themselves through murals. Just as the turmoil of the late 1960s and early '70s influenced Carlos, the political reality of today is central to art of the *cholos*.

> **Gustavo Grado Tiscareño:** *At first, we painted murals about ourselves, our way of life, problems of the* barrio*. Later we began to represent social problems, and create something for our community. In our murals we address problems of the* barrio *such as police repression, rejection by society, and ignorance about us.*

At the Festival, members of the *cholo* group Brigada por la Paz spoke about their lives and their art.

> **Gustavo Grado Tiscareño:** *We reach people with our murals. We make them aware of things that cannot be said openly, things that are usually prohibited by the police and by society as a whole. Murals are for everyone to see, to become aware of problems around them.*

Many different forms of expression flourish on the border. Lowriders express themselves through their cars, which are decorated and lowered to ride inches above the ground.

> *aquí. Decirles: "Miren, aquí me tienen, ésta es mi preciosa cultura, parte de la cultura estadounidense."*

Romy Frías de El Paso, Texas, pertenece al club de carros "*Slow and Low*" (lento y bajo), desde que era un adolescente. Esto es lo que el club significa para él.

> **Romy Frías:** *Los clubes de carros son como una familia. El carro se convierte en nuestra tela de pintar, por así decirlo, tanto por dentro como por fuera. Antes de entrar al "Slow and Low", estaba involucrado con las pandillas del este y del centro de El Paso, Texas. Afortunadamente unos amigos me invitaron al club de carros – que tenía como dos años de formado – y así cambié la pandilla por una nueva familia. No hay nada que ellos dejen de hacer por mí, o yo por ellos. El concepto del club de carros es muy similar al de las pandillas, pero en el club de carros la lealtad es real.*

El arte popular expresa los problemas sociales de la frontera. El Taller Universitario de Teatro de Mexicali, Baja California, presentó una obra relacionada con el trabajo maquilador.

> —Soy máquina.
>
> —No, no soy máquina.
>
> —Trabajo frente a una pared que me mira interrogante.
>
> —Nunca debía haber aceptado este trabajo.
>
> —Ni nada de andar protestando ni pidiendo aumento de sueldo porque el recorte de personal viene muy duro y no vaya a ser que les toque a ustedes.
>
> —O andar pidiendo aumento de salario.
>
> —Los sindicatos se vuelven un tema prohibido, ni se les ocurra formar uno porque de la noche a la mañana pueden desaparecer toda una maquiladora.
>
> —Todo esto somos en Mexicali y más que habremos de ser mañana porque todo está cambiando. Dejamos de ser así para ser de otra manera, cada vez digo yéndonos más y cada vez tomando más forma porque pues eso es la frontera, mito y realidad, puente y alambrada también, lugar de tránsito y muro impenetrable.
>
> —Mexicali se dobla con la crisis, pero no se quiebra.
>
> —Mexicali se dobla con la crisis, pero no se quiebra.
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> —Mexicali se dobla con la crisis, pero no se quiebra.
>
> —Mexicali se dobla con la crisis loco, pero no se quiebra *homey*.
>
> —Mexicali se dobla con la crisis, pero no se quiebra.

A lo largo de la frontera, la música frecuentemente une a la familia. En el Festival de Culturas Populares, la familia Layton de Elsa, Texas, compartió su música y sus memorias familiares.

> **Norfilia Layton:** *Soy la única mujer de una familia de cuatro y viniendo de una familia de inmigrantes, no me permitían tocar con mis hermanos. Me sentaba a escucharlos en la cocina. Practicaban después de la cena; me daba prisa para lavar los platos y tener más tiempo para oírlos ensayar. Así aprendí a cantar.*

> **Benigno Layton:** *Cuando empezamos a tocar yo tenía siete años, René tenía nueve y Toni once. La primera vez que tocamos como "Los Hermanitos Layton" fue en la cochera de una casa donde se festejaba un bautizo. Ese fue nuestro debut. Trato que mi acordeón se*

> **Romy Frías:** It's all about getting low, a lot of chrome, a lot of brilliant colors, to bring out again our festive spirit inside, to show the world, "We're here." It's kind of a statement, the slow cruise just so that people can see you. It's a kind of statement that "Hey, take a look, I'm here, this is my beautiful culture, this is the part of the United States culture that I am part of, and here I am."

Romy Frías of El Paso, Texas, has been a member of the Slow and Low car club since he was a teenager. At the Festival, Romy explained what Slow and Low means to him.

> **Romy Frías:** The lowrider clubs function as a family. I'd have to say the best way to describe the way our clubs function is as a family. The car becomes our expression, our canvas if you will, both inside and out. Before I got involved with Slow and Low, before I got involved with lowriding, I ran around with a couple of gangs, over from East and from Central El Paso. Fortunately for me, there was a group of friends involved with this car club, which was established approximately two years earlier. And I got involved. Year after year, getting deeper and deeper into the club, you create something, you create a brand new family, so to speak. There's nothing I — they won't do for me, and there's nothing I won't do for them. It's a lot of the same mentality that the gangs like to claim, but in the car club, it's for real.

Many forms of traditional art address the social problems of the border. El Taller Universitario de Teatro, a theater group based in Mexicali, Baja California, perform a play on the *maquiladora* industry.

> — *I am a machine.*
>
> — *No, I am not a machine.*
>
> — *I work in front of a wall that looks at me, asking me questions.*
>
> — *I should have never accepted this job.*
>
> — *Don't complain or ask for a raise. There are going to be many layoffs, and you may be the next ones.*
>
> — *Unions have become a forbidden topic. Don't even think about forming one because a* maquiladora *can disappear overnight.*
>
> — *In Mexicali, we are all of this and more. We will be something else tomorrow. Things are always changing. That is the border, myth and reality, bridge and chain link fence, a place for crossing and an impenetrable wall.*
>
> — *Mexicali bends with the crisis, but does not break.*
>
> — *Mexicali bends with the crisis, but does not break.*
>
> — *Mexicali bends with the crisis, but does not break.*
>
> — *Mexicali bends with the crisis, man, but does not break, homey.*
>
> — *Mexicali bends with the crisis, but does not break.*

Along the border, music often brings a family together. At the Festival, the Layton family from Elsa, Texas, shared their music, as well as their family memories.

> **Norfilia Layton:** I am the only daughter from a family of four, and being from siblings of migrant families, I was not allowed to play with my brothers. I used to sit back in the back porch of my parents' house while my brothers would practice, and I would listen to them play nightly. They would practice every evening after supper, they'd go out there. I'd do the dishes in a hurry and I'd go out there, and as a result I learned how to sing.

oiga alegre, y aprovecho los espacios en el canto para meter notas de mi inspiración.

Norfilia Layton: *Mi primera presentación en público fue a los once años, ahora tengo 41 años y sigo cantando con mis hermanos.*

La música siempre ha sido parte de la familia de Carmen Cristina Moreno. Sus padres, músicos profesionales, cantaban rancheras.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: *Crecí con la música de mariachi. Empecé a cantar cuando tenía once años. Estaba en el patio de un bar cuando se acercó un señor para preguntarme si sabía cantar. Le dije que sí. Mi primera canción fue "Arráncame el corazón".*

La familia de Carmen Cristina tiene una historia musical, y al mismo tiempo, su música está llena de historia.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: *Esta es una canción que habla sobre la revolución mexicana, un evento cercano a mi corazón, ya que mi papá fue revolucionario. Como mi abuelo era yaqui puro, mi papá quedó en la división yaqui del ejército revolucionario. Buscando reducir, y aún erradicar a la población yaqui, los enrolaron, en las líneas del frente. Mi papá tenía 15 años cuando lo mandaron a combatir con Carranza. Esta canción se llama "El teniente y González":*

De Allende se despidió
con 21 años cabales,
gratos recuerdos dejó
al pueblo y a los rurales.

Estaba Arnulfo sentado
y en eso pasa un rural;
le dice: "Oye ¿qué me ves?"
"La vista es natural."

El rural muy enojado
en la cara le pegó,
con su pistola en la mano
con la muerte le amagó.

Arnulfo se levantó,
llamándole la atención:
"Oiga, amigo, no se vaya,
falta mi contestación."

A través de la música, el teatro y la pintura, el arte popular expresa identidad a todo lo largo de la frontera.

Benigno Layton: When we got started I was seven years old, and René was nine, and Tony was eleven. The very first time that we played as "Los Hermanitos Layton" was four houses down the street. It was a baptism party, and we played in a garage. That was our debut. What I try to do with my accordion playing, I try to make it as happy as possible, *alegre*, you know. And sometimes when there's a little interlude between the singing, I get a little chance, a couple of bars, a couple of beats to do whatever I feel I want to do.

Norfilia Layton: At the age of eleven I did my first performance in public, and the rest is history. I am now approaching forty-one, and I am still singing with my brothers.

Music has always been a part of Carmen Cristina Moreno's family. Her parents, professional musicians, sang *rancheras*.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: I was raised in the mariachi. I'm just learning about her history too.

Carmen Cristina has a history of music in her family, and her music is filled with history.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: I'm going to sing a song about the Mexican Revolution, which is something very close to my heart. My father was in the Mexican Revolution he was, because my grandfather was a full-blooded Yaqui Indian and my grandmother was a French refugee. But my father was dark and had the Yaqui features like I do. They conscripted him in the Yaqui division of the Revolutionary Army. In order to whittle down and weed out the Yaqui population, they conscripted these Yaquis to go to the front lines, and they drafted my father; he was only fifteen and a half, and he was sent to fight with General Carranza. This is *"El teniente y González,"* the Lieutenant and González.

From Allende he said goodbye
21 years completed,
He left a lot of pleasant memories
To the town and to the *rurales*
(*Rurales* like the federal troops).

And it says:

Arnulfo was sitting down
And at that time a lieutenant goes by,
And the lieutenant said,
"What are you looking at?"

And the lieutenant got very angry and hit Arnulfo in the face with his gun. He hit him in the face and pulled out his gun threatening him, and then he put his gun back in his holster and walked off. Then Arnulfo said, "Hey, wait a minute. You need my answer." And so it goes.

Using music, drama, and visual images, traditional art expresses identity along the border.

Parte 4:
TRABAJO *e* IDENTIDAD

Hay trabajos que ayudan a definir la identidad de una región. En la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos se practican labores de larga tradición relacionadas con la tierra, como es el caso de la ganadería. Las características de la frontera han definido a su vez, condiciones especiales de trabajo: mano de obra barata, gran actividad turística y un control particular del flujo migratorio.

Para mucha gente de la zona baja del río Bravo, la ganadería es una forma de vida, pues la tierra seca y los amplios espacios del sur de Texas y del noreste de México son ideales para la cría de ganado.

> **Cynthia Vidaurri:** *La industria ganadera, como la conocemos actualmente, tiene sus orígenes en España. Llegó a México alrededor del siglo XVI.*

Uno de los oficios ligados a la ganadería es el del vaquero. Al vaquero se le reconoce por su indumentaria y por la destreza para desarrollar su trabajo.

> **Omar Galván:** *Me formé en un rancho del sur de Texas. Vengo de una familia de 10. Mi papá, mi abuelo y mi tatarabuelo fueron vaqueros, como ahora somos mis hermanos y yo.*

Las palabras también nos hablan de la identidad. Por ejemplo, cuando Omar habla en inglés dice que es *cowboy*. En español se define como un "vaquero completo."

> **Cynthia Vidaurri:** *En los ranchos del sur de Texas se distingue entre un cowboy y un vaquero. El cowboy es un hombre de unos 25 años que controla el ganado desde una camioneta. El vaquero completo conoce todo lo relativo a la ganadería. Repara molinos de viento, construye cercas y trabaja con el ganado. Los vaqueros viejos saben identificar, de vista, qué becerros pertenece a tal vaca.*

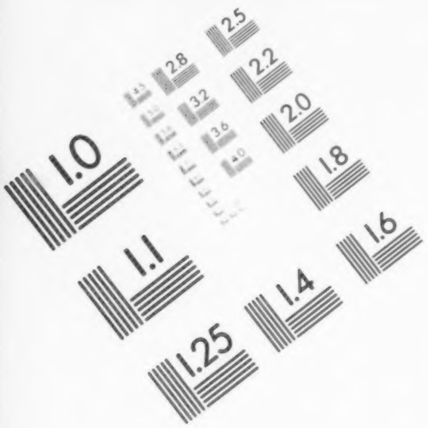
En el Festival de las Culturas Populares, Omar platicó sobre el trabajo cotidiano del vaquero.

> **Omar Galván:** *Nos levantamos muy de mañana, a veces a las 3 de la mañana, otras veces a las cuatro, pero tenemos que estar al amanecer arriba del caballo ya listos para ir a rodear los potreros.*

Actualmente Omar ya no vive ni trabaja en ranchos pero sigue considerándose como vaquero, sobre todo cuando lo buscan para capacitar a la nueva generación.

La tradición ranchera influye sobre mucha gente fronteriza. Armando Flores se convirtió en herrero por influencia familiar.

> **Armando Flores:** *De niño, recuerdo que toda la familia por parte de mi papá y de mi mamá se dedicaba al trabajo de rancho. Después ya no. Yo pertenezco a la primera generación del lado materno, y la segunda del paterno, que no se dedica a labores de rancho. También desde niño oia historias sobre el trabajo de herrero y qué tan útil era para los rancheros. Ahora busco material para reciclar, para crear nuevas cosas, ya sean decorativas o funcionales.*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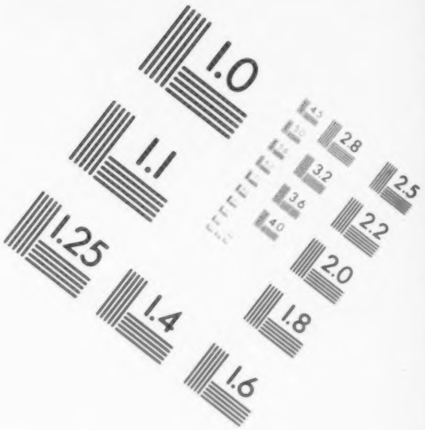
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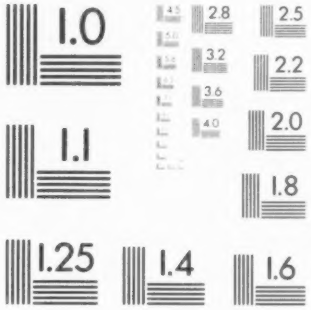
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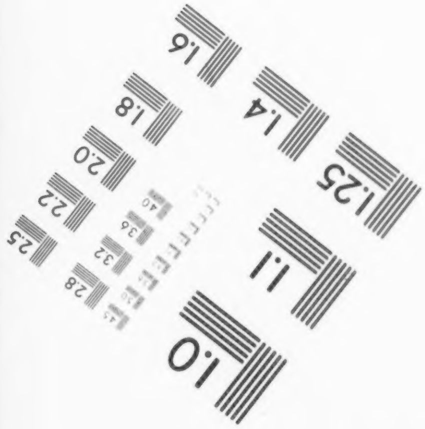
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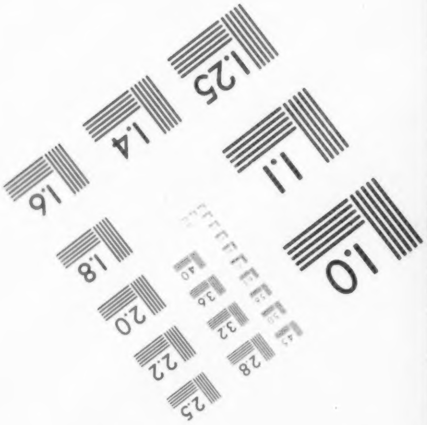
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Part 4:

OCCUPATIONS *and* IDENTITY

Occupations can reflect a regional and personal identity. Along the United States-Mexico border, traditional occupations tied to the land, like ranching, have a long history. The border fosters other occupations born from special circumstances: the availability of inexpensive labor, a bustling tourist trade, and the control of people crossing the border.

For many people, ranching is a way of life in the lower Rio Grande/Río Bravo region. The dry open ranges of South Texas and northeastern Mexico create an ideal area for raising large herds of cattle.

> **Cynthia Vidaurri:** The cattle industry as it exists today had its origins in Spain. It was brought in to Mexico by the Spanish visitors that came in the 1500s.

One of the occupations connected to ranching is that of the cowboy, or *vaquero*. A *vaquero*'s identity is evident in the clothes he wears, the equipment he uses, and in the skills he's learned over a lifetime.

> **Omar Galván:** I was born and raised in a ranch in South Texas. I come from a big family of ten. My father was a cowboy, my grandfather was a cowboy, my great-grandfather was a cowboy. All my brothers and myself.

Identity can also be tied to the terms used to refer to oneself. When speaking English, Omar calls himself a cowboy. In Spanish, however, he is known as a *vaquero completo*.

> **Cynthia Vidaurri:** There's a distinction between a cowboy and a *vaquero* on the South Texas ranches. "Cowboy" might mean the guy who is twenty, twenty-five, takes his pick-up truck and his goose-neck trailer and works cattle using hydraulics, but the *vaquero completo* knows the entire range of the cattle business. These are the fellows who fix windmills, *papelotes*, these are the guys who build the fences, as well as going out there and working the cattle. Some of these older cowboys can tell you by sight which calf belongs to which cow.

At the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C., Omar described a typical day's work for a cowboy:

> **Omar Galván:** *We get up very early, sometimes at 3:00 a.m., sometimes at 4:00. We have to be ready to ride at dawn.*

Omar is retired now and no longer lives on a ranch. He still identifies himself as a *vaquero*, though, and is often called upon to guide younger, aspiring *vaqueros*.

Many people working along the border are influenced by ranches and their history. Armando Flores, a blacksmith, was inspired by his family's involvement in ranching:

> **Armando Flores:** Throughout my years growing up, on both sides of my family, my mother's side and my father's side, all the folks in our family were ranch hands or worked in ranches all their lives. On my mother's side, I'm the first generation that

Otras tradiciones de trabajo, como la fabricación de reatas y canastas, siguen practicándose en algunos ranchos de la frontera.

Arturo Carrillo Strong, escritor y ex-investigador de la frontera, dice que la ganadería no es el único trabajo que se practica desde antaño en la región.

> **Arturo Carrillo Strong:** *El contrabando es algo que ha pasado de generación en generación. Las rutas de los contrabandistas de de tequila se remontan a décadas atrás.*

A principio de siglo, el gobierno de Estados Unidos aumentó la vigilancia en la frontera para controlar el tráfico de mercancía y el cruce de personas indocumentadas.

> **Reynaldo Hernández:** *Me llamo Reynaldo Hernández y trabajo en la patrulla fronteriza del Servicio de Inmigración de los Estados Unidos. Mi trabajo es disminuir la inmigración ilegal. En los últimos 16 años me he dedicado a combatir el contrabando en Texas y en la región conocida como "la línea", frontera con Nogales, Arizona. Nací y me formé en el sur de Texas con caballos y trabajé con los vaqueros del "King Ranch" (Rancho King). Mi experiencia con los ganaderos me ha ayudado en mi trabajo actual.*

Atraidos por la mano de obra barata, varias compañías estadounidenses de ensamble se han instalado en la frontera. A estas compañías se les llama maquiladoras.

Una mujer, empleada de una maquiladora, comentaba que su trabajo era muy pesado y sucio; que como trabaja con metal, todo el tiempo estaba sacudiéndose las astillas.

La actividad turística ha generado toda clase de empleos. En Tijuana, por ejemplo, las mixtecas ofrecen sus artesanías en la plaza Santa Cecilia.

Los mixtecos, originarios del estado Oaxaca, emigran a la frontera en busca de empleo. Los hombres encuentran trabajo en los campos mexicanos y estadounidenses, y las mujeres se dedican al pequeño comercio. Habla Ofelia Santos López, presidente de la Unión Mixteca de Comerciantes y Artesanos de Artículos para el Turismo.

> **Ofelia Santos López:** Somos puras mujeres y nuestros maridos se vienen para Estados Unidos a trabajar y nosotros nos quedamos a Tijuana a trabajar tampoco, porque somos mujeres que estamos luchando para sacar nuestro marido para adelante y nuestros hijos. No queremos que anden sufriendo al igual que nosotros, por eso nosotros nos organizamos dentro de mujeres, nos estamos ayudando unos a los otros porque somos gentes trabajadoras.

Desde la vestimenta del vaquero hasta las prácticas comerciales de las mixtecas, todo forma parte de los elementos que distinguen el trabajo en la región. Esos factores contribuyen a la formación de la identidad de los fronterizos.

did not grow up on a ranch, that did not do ranch work. On my father's side, I'm the second generation that was pulled off the ranch. So, I've always heard from when I was a kid stories about blacksmiths, and how resourceful those people were, how they would repair wagons and plows and all kinds of stuff, make implements for the ranchers and stuff. So I kept that in the back of my mind somewhere, and as I progressed in my blacksmithing skills, I brought that back. So now I go to scrap yards and look for items that I am able to recycle into something else, whether it be decorative or practical form.

Other occupations, like rope and basket making, continue in ranching regions of the border.

Arturo Carrillo Strong, an author and former border investigator, explains that ranching is not the only occupation with a long history in the region.

Arturo Carrillo Strong: The smuggling business is one that has been handed down from one generation to another. The old smuggling routes of the *tequileros* go back centuries, and these routes are inherited and handed down to the children.

Since the early part of this century, the United States Government has increased its patrol of the border to monitor traffic of people and goods between the two countries.

Reynaldo Hernández: My name is Reynaldo Hernández; I'm with the United States Border Patrol, part of the branch of the Immigration Service, and my job is to stop illegal immigration of illegal aliens from all parts of the country, all parts of the world that are coming into the United States. I was born and raised in South Texas. For the past sixteen years I have been involved in the enforcement of smuggling or contraband directly, right on the river in South Texas, now right on what we call "the line," the *"linea"* in Nogales. I was born and raised on a horse and worked with these King Ranch cowboys at one time. And when I went to the area where I am now in, we started up a horse patrol. And we have been able to apprehend narcotic violators on horseback, partly because now we are using the trades, tools that they are using, countering what they are using, and it also helps us in the tracking of illegal aliens. My background in ranching allowed me to track and, you know, apprehend a lot of narcotic and illegal alien violators.

The availability of inexpensive labor has lured many U.S. companies to relocate their assembly plants to the border. These plants are known as *maquiladoras*. In many cases, the U.S. companies exploit their workers, and pollute the environment.

One *maquila* worker offers a description of her work: "The work is very hard, very dirty. You work with metals, and all the time you are shaking off shavings and picking out splinters."

Other occupations have benefitted from the thriving tourist industry of the border. In Tijuana a group of Mixtecas have organized themselves to sell crafts to tourists. In the Plaza de Santa Cecilia, these women display their goods in specially designed carts.

The Mixtecas, originally from rural Oaxaca in southwestern Mexico, migrated to the border, which is a mid-point between the agricultural fields of Mexico and those of the United States where many of their husbands find seasonal work. Ofelia Santos López, president of the Unión Mixteca de Comerciantes y Artesanos de Artículos para el Turismo, explains:

> **Ofelia Santos López:** *We are all women. Our husbands go to the United States to work, while we stay in Tijuana. We struggle to help our husbands and children get ahead. We have organized ourselves, so they don't suffer like we did. We are hard workers, and we help each other out.*

From the clothing of a *vaquero* to the union card of a Mixteca vendor, occupations along the border help define people's identities. Occupations change over time — but the border itself creates circumstances that affect the working lives of its residents.

United States–Mexico Borderlands/La Frontera

Olivia Cadaval

Dedication

We dedicate the Borderlands program to Don Américo Paredes whose lifelong intellectual, artistic, and social engagement with the border has led the way in understanding borders as distinctive cultural regions. Borders, and in particular the area he has called the Lower Rio Grande Border and from which he came, create complex and turbulent environments. These generate what Don Américo has rightly understood as a culture of conflict, struggle, and resistance. For Don Américo, it is precisely the generative power of the struggle that makes border folklore distinctive.

La frontera marca el sitio donde dos países soberanos colindan, creando un ámbito de acercamiento pero también de separación entre culturas y jurisdicciones nacionales. La frontera trazada de acuerdo al tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo de 1848 entre México y los Estados Unidos invadió tierras indígenas, dividió comunidades mexicanas, y creó una dinámica de oportunidad, explotación, y conflicto que ha engendrado una cultura propia fronteriza.

Basado en la investigación, este programa nos ofrece una muestra de esta cultura fronteriza — sus historias, sus diversas comunidades, identidades locales y regionales, y de su música, su arte, su artesanía, sus costumbres, su comida y su narrativa. El programa se ha realizado gracias a la colaboración de El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Texas Folklife Resources, Western Folklife Center de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Arizona, el Centro de Estudios Regionales de la Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California y de investigadores individuales y miembros de varias comunidades de ambos lados. Este artículo es una introducción a los ensayos de investigadores participantes que aportan diferentes perspectivas y tocan diversos temas.

Finalmente este artículo es una introducción a los participantes del programa en el festival, a esas voces individuales que viven y crean la cultura de la froniera. A través de sus historias y la presentación de sus habilidades artísticas y creadoras, esperamos apreciar la vitalidad y riqueza propia de la cultura fronteriza, y entrar en un diálogo con los fronterizos mismos para mejor entender los problemas y los procesos culturales y sociales que se dan en este ámbito transnacional.

Introduction

Borderlands have often been the locale of major folk cultural achievements, from the outlaw ballads of the Scots-English border to the heroic *corridos* of south Texas. Energized by the lives of heroes and others, borderlands continue to spark themes of frontier lawlessness, national pride, rebellion against injustice, and a community hero's stand against all odds. What is it about a border that triggers these cultural forms and others, such as souvenirs, duty-free liquors,

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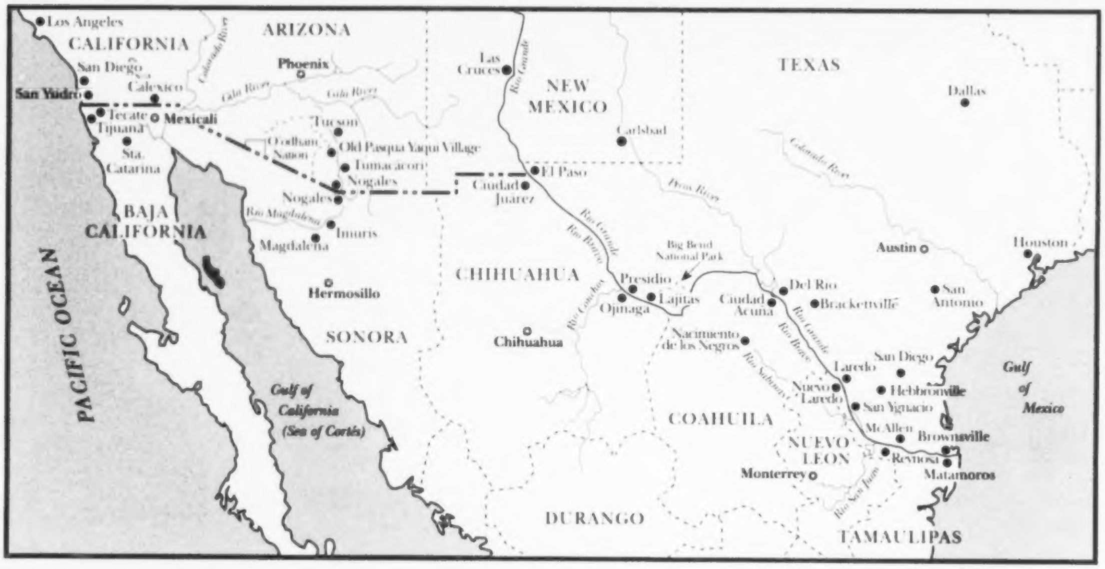
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PACIFIC OCEAN
Gulf of California (Sea of Cortés)
Colorado River
ARIZONA
Phoenix
Gila River
Gila River
Tucson
O'odham Nation
Old Pasqua Yaqui Village
Tumacacori
Nogales
Nogales
Rio Magdalena
Imuris
Magdalena
Hermosillo
SONORA
Las Cruces
Rio Grande
NEW MEXICO
Carlsbad
El Paso
Ciudad Juárez
CHIHUAHUA
Chihuahua
Rio Grande
Rio Bravo
Rio Conchos
Pecos River
Colorado River
TEXAS
Dallas
Big Bend National Park
Presidio
Lajitas
Ojinaga
Ciudad Acuña
Del Rio
Brackettville
Austin
Houston
San Antonio
Nacimiento de los Negros
Rio Grande
Rio Bravo
Rio Sabinas
Laredo
Nuevo Laredo
San Diego
Hebbronville
San Ygnacio
McAllen
Brownsville
Reynosa
Matamoros
COAHUILA
NUEVO LEON
Monterrey
Rio San Juan
DURANGO
TAMAULIPAS
Gulf of Mexico

retaining walls made of automobile tires, and *maquiladora* assembly plants? Is the border a particular kind of region or social environment? If so, does the border tend to produce a particular kind of culture? And what is the relationship between this environment and its culture? In this essay and in this Festival program we explore answers to these questions.

A line drawn in various ways, a border marks the place where adjacent jurisdictions meet. This combined conjunction-and-separation of national laws and customs creates a zone in which movements of people and goods are greatly regulated, examined, discussed, and hidden. Commerce attains a higher importance in border society as does dialogue about the identities of its peoples. Smuggling, the myriad signs in border towns, legal and illegal immigration, and the use of unneighborly names between neighbors are parts of this picture of accentuated concern with the trade in goods and the flow of people.

The border is an environment of opportunity. Individuals find work enforcing or avoiding the laws that regulate movement. Companies use national differences in labor and environmental regulations to pursue their advantage. Border society thrives on difference, and people and institutions come there to exploit niches in its environment.

Borders are artifacts of history and are subject to change over time. When borders shift, lands and peoples are subjected to different sets of rules; this creates opportunities for exploitation, conditions of hardship, and motivations for revolt.

An approach to describing a society constructed by difference is necessarily many voiced. Rather than a central, authoritative perspective, we strive for a de-centered point of view, one with many authoritative speakers. Of course, this is more easily achieved in the Festival, where citizens of the border region speak and perform for themselves and their communities. But even in this printed medium, through translation and transcription, a variety of authorities are represented.

Border society is an abstract concept compounded of ideas about the sovereignty of nation-states, the intensification of commerce and social discourse, and strategies of cultural representation. The U.S.-Mexico border can be understood in these terms; and in this it is similar to borders like those between the U.S. and Canada, East and West Germany, or Kenya and Tanzania. But a particular history of the U.S.-Mexico border is expressed in the images, sounds, discourse genres, and social formations discussed below. This particular historical development has made the border the planet's longest between a country characterized by economic practices and achievements sometimes known as 'first world' and a country whose economy is

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Olivia Cadaval is curator of the Festival's United States-Mexico Borderlands program. She has conducted research and collaborated in public programming with the Washington, D.C. Latino, Latin American, and Caribbean communities for over a decade. She received her Ph.D. from George Washington University.

sometimes characterized as 'third world'. The growth of a capitalist world economy provided the context for the development not only of U.S.-Mexico border culture, but also of other types of cultural processes that incorporate difference — acculturation, creolization, and the growth of various cultural diasporas.

Cultural processes which may be opaque and elusive elsewhere become clear at the border. This is the case, as Dr. Valenzuela points out, in the formation of cultural identity. The border offers a stark context of cultural difference, social inequality, and ever present reminders of governmental power to limit individual opportunity by ascribing national identity. The dominant discourse that assigns low social value to particular sectors of the population is answered by a creative flood of expressions of identity in music, graphic arts, poetry, and styles of clothing and self presentation.

People speak passionately and often artistically about themselves and others; they regulate exchange and avoid regulation; they struggle to survive in an environment often shaped by the practices of nation-states and a global economy. These human acts are not unique to borders, but they occur there with a clarity and an urgency that commands our concern.

People at the Border

The region between the Gulf of Mexico and Baja California has been inhabited by many Native American societies, which first settled and used the land. Spaniards took ownership of these lands in grants made by the Spanish crown according to a perceived divine right. Mestizos, whose practices, like their ancestry, combined Indian and Hispanic heritage, inhabited the region. And English-speaking citizens of the U.S., whose land acquiring and owning practices were informed by principles of commercial capital and manifest destiny also settled here. The border region is usually thought of as composed of these principal groups of landowners, former landowners, and workers, but its environment of opportunity has attracted many others, whose successive arrivals continue to transform the sociocultural life of the region.

On the Gulf coast, Jewish families from central Mexico sought refuge from religious persecution in the 18th century and established businesses in Matamoros and along the valley. In the latter part of the 19th century, a Mexican government concerned by U.S. expansionism encouraged settlement and in some cases granted land in the western region of the border to groups as diverse as Chinese, Mennonites, Molokan Russians, Black Seminoles, and Kickapoo Indians. Black Seminoles and Kickapoo were welcomed with the stipulation that they defend the territory against the Apache and Comanche raids.

When her paralysis was cured, Josefina Ollervidez built a shrine in her yard in San Antonio, Texas, to Nuestra Señora de los Lagos, a patron saint she brought with her from Jalisco in central Mexico. ***Photo by Kathy Vargas***

As Maricela González describes in her article, Chinese managers and laborers established residence in the towns of Mexicali and Calexico at the beginning of the 20th century. The damming of the Colorado River converted this area in the Imperial Valley along the Colorado River into fertile agricultural land. Anglo landowners leased this land to Chinese entrepreneurs from California, who smuggled agricultural laborers into Mexico from China.

The Bracero Program of 1942-1964, first negotiated by the U.S. and Mexico as an emergency measure during World War II, encouraged large migrations of Mexican workers to the U.S. Under its terms, American agricultural enterprises could legally bring Mexican contract laborers for seasonal work. In the off-season many did not return home but settled on the border, often selecting a place where people from their home state were already established.

The Mixtecos are one of 16 indigenous groups from Oaxaca who, for at least 30 years, have been migrating to urban and agricultural areas in Mexico and in the U.S. As Francisco Moreno's article points out, they are not a monolithic group but have regional linguistic and cultural differences. For them, as for other indigenous migrants in Mexico, the sale of traditional and tourist crafts has been an economic mainstay. Today, some of the most popular tourist items sold throughout Mexico are the rag dolls dressed in archetypal peasant garb with no strong regional identity. Mixteco women vendors sell them in Tijuana. They formerly made the dolls but now buy them, along with other traditional crafts, from other migrants in Tijuana, who come from the western Mexican states of Jalisco and Guanajuato, and from Guatemala. The traditional and tourist crafts displayed on a Mixteco vendor's cart represent the labor of many cultural groups on the border and the entrepreneurial skill of Mixtecos who make a living in this market created by short-distance tourism.

Mexican immigrants continue to seek economic opportunities. Workers have been attracted to the border area by the 1961-1965 Mexican National Border Economic Development Program followed in 1965 by the Industrialization Program of the Border, which introduced the maquiladora assembly plants to the region. In her article, María Eugenia de la O records testimonies of several maquila workers in Ciudad Juárez.

From the 1980s onward, economic and political refugees from Central America have swelled populations at the border and migrations across it. Individuals, groups, and corporate bodies continue to be attracted to the border to exploit niches in an environment created by difference and marginality. What they have constructed, appropriated, abandoned, and re-constructed fill the social landscape of the border region.

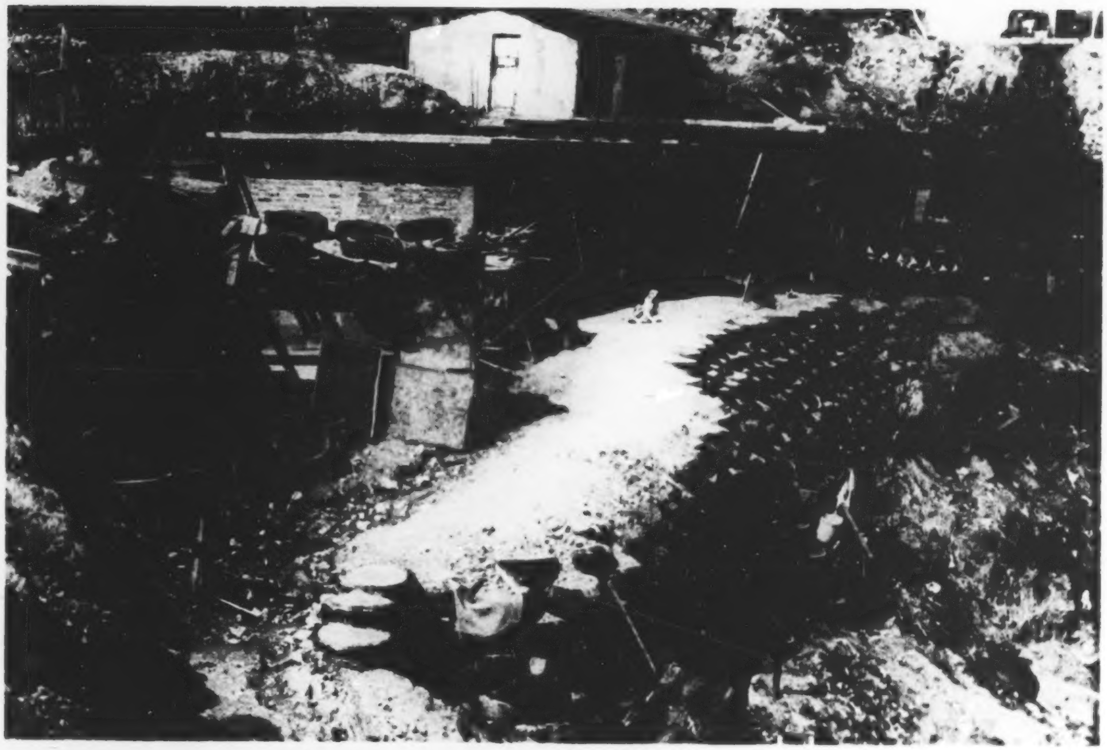
Regions of the Border

While border cultures share an environment created by adjacent jurisdictions and socioeconomic marginality and difference, cultural expressions do vary from one border town or region to another. Older, established communities populate the string of small towns on both sides of the river along the Rio Grande/Río Bravo valley to Laredo/Nuevo Laredo. Eagle Pass/Piedras Negras and Del Río/Ciudad Acuña began as coalmining towns in the 1800s. In Del Río, the San Felipe spring feeds a network of canals, creating a lushness not otherwise seen in south Texas and inviting the establishment of Italian vineyards. Here regional cultural traditions are shaped by agriculture, cattle ranching, and mining as much as by the early conflicts between the Mexican land-grant settlements and the northern land-grabbers. Labor unions of Mexican farmers, service employees, and oil workers now organize maquila workers at the assembly plants that are replacing those older industries on the Mexican side.

The border follows the river through the rough terrain of the Big Bend and through the once busy trading posts of Presidio/Ojinaga and on to the El Paso/Ciudad Juárez twins established as the "Passage to the North" between the mountain ranges, "the border's fulcrum, where the river gives way to the fence and where North and South have been horsetrading for centuries" (Weisman 1986:85). El Paso/Ciudad Juárez is a crucible of cultural identities, in which shared border personas are created, exported, re-imported, and transformed. Here the *pachuco*, a Mexican American, neighorhood identity of the 1940s and '50s was reforged as the *cholo* Mexican and Mexican American youth of today.

West of the river a series of straight lines, not the topography, define the boundary. Here the Sonoran Desert border is home to Yaqui and O'odham Indians. As noted by Dr. Griffith, there is in this region a unique cultural interdependence between Native Americans and Mexicans, exemplified by the shared celebration of the patron saint, Francisco Xavier, and of the missionary Francisco de Kino (often merged into a composite St. Francis along with St. Francis of Assisi). Members of these groups share each other's crafts and food at the feast in Magdalena, 20 miles south of Ambos Nogales (the Two Nogales). In this area, the socioeconomic struggle of the Rio Grande/Río Bravo region is not as dominant a feature of life. Whereas lower border corridos praise the valor of men who fight for their rights, corridos in this area celebrate famed horses that win epic races.

The westernmost border area between the Californias is very different. The original Native American populations are surrounded and forgotten by the growing urbanization of the early 20th century. Many have migrated to San Diego



Most Mixtecos in Tijuana live in the neigborhood known as the Colonia Obrera, where retaining walls made of tires are used to keep homes from sliding down steep hills. *Photo by Laura Velasco Ortiz*

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"TRABAJO SOCIAL"

On the Rio Bravo/Rio Grande, a *pollero* (whose work is to assist undocumented travelers cross the border) floats children from Ciudad Juárez to El Paso on an inner tube raft. *Photo by Pete Reiniger* and Los Angeles, establishing large communities.

A striking architectural feature in the Tijuana working class neighborhoods that spread on the sloping canyons of the city is the use of tires in landscaping. Tires create stairs that lead up to hillside houses, and they are built into retaining walls that keep homes from sliding downhill. Architects have integrated the distinctive tire embankment motif into the cement retaining walls they design for affluent neighborhoods. In Nogales, street vendors reserve their space on a downtown street with bright yellow half tires lined up like croquet wickets to mark their territory and attract customers. In Laredo and throughout the valley, sculpted and painted tire flowerpots decorate the front yards and yard shrines. And as almost everywhere, border children swing on tires hung from trees in house yards or from metal scaffolds in public playgrounds.

The Border in History

The Mexican and the United States governments settled the location of the border with the signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty in 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. But long before there was a border, Indian communities had settlements in the areas between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific. In the 17th century, Spanish settlers established the same area as the northern frontier of New Spain and then of Mexico after its War of Independence in 1810. In the Spanish colonial period, this area was a frontier that attracted the most adventuresome explorers and dedicated missionaries.

The eastern region of the border along the Río Bravo (later called Rio Grande in the U.S.) was more hospitable and became a focus of regional life as towns grew up along its banks. As Dr. Ceballos points out, residents of these towns like Laredo felt a strong allegiance to a Mexican identity. El Paso del Norte, now known as El Paso, was the first and largest town built on the river in the early 1600s in the mountain corridor that was called *El Paso del Norte*, the "Passage to the North." Many small towns established before the creation of the border still dot the Texas valley.

The Rio Grande/Río Bravo, a "symbol of separation" in Texas, constitutes over half of the length of the border. In the decades following the Mexican-American War (1850s), U.S. cattle barons and agricultural opportunists from the East and the Midwest with substantial capital and extensive mercantile connections came to dominate the U.S.-Mexico trade across this Texas river border. Shortly after their rise, these merchants began to acquire extensive tracts of land in Texas and to assert dominion over the earlier Spanish and Mexican settlers. This created an environment of cultural and economic conflict that characterizes the border to this day.

Much border crossing is done extra-legally because of convenience. Here a grandmother crosses via a well-traveled route for a day's shopping in the U.S. ***Photo by David Burckhalter***

During the Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910, the border population increased significantly as many moved across the border seeking refuge. Migration patterns were established between particular states in Mexico and particular regions or towns on the border. For example, refugees from central Mexico who settled in the Texas valley were likely to be joined later by immigrants from their hometowns. Migrants from the northwestern states of Zacatecas, Durango, and Sinaloa regularly traveled to Ciudad Juárez/El Paso.

When economic recessions hit the U.S., efforts mounted to push immigrants back to Mexico. In 1914-1915, the U.S. side of the Rio Grande Valley experienced a winter of violence

A mural decorates the wall of a workers' neighborhood in Ciudad Juárez. ***Photo by Lyle Rosbotham***

when hundreds of Mexicans, or *mejicanos* in border usage, were persecuted and killed by the Texas border patrols. The Great Depression of the 1930s brought a new wave of deportations in which immigrants who had lived undisturbed in the U.S. for decades were repatriated.

As people from different cultural regions of Mexico have settled on the border, they have evolved a complexly layered cultural and social environment that has been created by competition and adaptation for survival. In this struggle, border peoples have developed distinctive styles, social organizations, and local economies. An interesting example of this is the way Mixteco vendors in Tijuana appropriate the traditional and tourist handicrafts made by other Mexican migrants to create a market that helps to support not only their own cultural identity but also that of the other groups.

Local economies that develop on the Mexican side capitalize not only on available skills but also on available, usually discarded, materials. Small businesses trade in secondhand clothes purchased by the pound and cardboard from the U.S. Some items, like the used tires found everywhere along the border, are made into distinctive items that support local economies and define a border style.

The extensive use of tires is evidence of economic difference and marginality and of the cultural inventiveness and resilience that exploits the border environment. But the visible presence of discarded materials is also a reminder of the pollution that is unfortunately also prevalent on the border. The poorly regulated industrialization including that of agriculture on both sides of the border increasingly contaminates the air, water, and land. While border residents can creatively reuse discarded tires, the unchecked and growing regional pollution, which seriously affects their health as well as the environment, is at present beyond their control.

The Program

Based on research in the rich and dynamic living culture of the border, the Borderlands Festival program is designed to provide a glimpse of the border — its histories, its diverse communities, local and regional identities, and its music, arts, crafts, healing practices, foodways, and narrative. This program has been assembled by the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies in collaboration with El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (a center for studies of the northern Mexican border), Texas Folklife Resources, the University of Arizona Library's Western Folklife

Carolina Samaniego de Leyva shapes rounds of asadero cheese in her home in El Divisidero, a few miles from Ojinaga, Chihuahua. This major cattle region of Mexico's northern border is noted for this pliable white cheese made from milk curdled with *trompillo*, a seed from a local deadly nightshade plant. ***Photo by Emily Socolov***

Center, the Centro de Estudios Regionales of the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, and with individual scholars and community members from both sides of the border.

The program is about community-based culture. It presents cultural practices found on the border and cultural expressions about the border, and it explores cultural patterns that seem to be created by the border. It also addresses the cultural heritage, adaptability, and creativity of Native Americans and of the Mexican, Hispanic American, Anglo and other immigrant communities that have played a part in creating the life that surrounds the Mexico-U.S. border — those that maintain it, those that cross it, those that are left behind, and those that dwell in the border region. The program explores the processes through which the groups create, adapt, and preserve culture to meet the challenges of life on the border. It seeks to present and understand community codes of behavior that evolved on the border including confrontation, evasion, violence, and romance, especially as these have been transformed into narrative and other forms of artistic expression.

Music performances include emergent forms such as the *conjunto*, which grows out of the interaction between different cultural communities; older forms, such as the *corrido*, which has been used to preserve a historical vision in the defense of disputed territory; and adapted forms such as the string band music now incorporated into the traditional repertoire of the Tohono O'odham Native American communities.

Also featured in the program are five muralists, whose work reflects the traditions of Mexican *cholo* and United States Chicano muralism. These traditions draw upon the rich history of muralism in the Americas — from wall paintings in pre-Columbian temples and colonial churches, to popularized images in bars and on commercial facades, to the socially-engaged masterpieces of the Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, and Tamayo, to the graphic protest in U.S. cities that has now been re-contextualized on the border. Murals continue to be touchstones of common historical experiences, archaeologies of sociocultural movements, and powerful statements of identity, ethical principles, and community aspirations.

The unique fusion of border aesthetics and handcrafted technology is embodied in lowriders — distinctively customized automobiles — described below by Michael Stone. These low-slung, hopping cars complement the iconography of murals as statements of cultural identity. Vaqueros of south Texas demonstrate their skills, crafts, and foodways associated with their cowboy tradition, which dates back to the Spanish colonial era. A fisherman from the port of Brownsville demonstrates shrimping techniques. A Laredo blacksmith forges stirrups, belt buckles, and other implements of vaquero life, along with a number of traditional and contemporary decorative objects. A ropemaker demonstrates the use of the local fiber called lechugilla (an agave of the amaryllis family). While fine craft traditions like guitar- and furniture-making are not specific to the border, craftspeople have incorporated motifs and instruments native to the region, like the *bajo sexto* guitar. Other occupational groups characteristic of the border environment include federal Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents who regulate movement across the border; *coyotes* and *polleros*, who help migrants evade immigration regulations; and workers in *maquiladora* assembly line industries. Narrative sessions focus on the culture of craft and occupation in the context of the border.

Artisans demonstrate crafts used in the home and for special celebrations, including quilt-making, flower- and piñata-making, candle-making, and reverse-painted glass. Participants prepare regional specialties, traditional foods served for *fiestas*, and offer a sampling of typical vaquero outdoor cooking. Finally, the Festival presents members of the Mixteco Indian community in Tijuana, a recent migrant group, which preserves its cultural identity and contributes to the economy at the border by maintaining ties with other Mixteco communities in Oaxaca and California.

The United States-Mexico border has had a profound effect on the lives of millions of people. The pending free trade agreement is only the latest in a long line of international socioeconomic arrangements that have wide ranging local impacts. Critical attention in Mexico and the U.S. has been increasingly focused on the historical consciousness created in this borderland and on its expression in traditional and other forms of art. Recognition of the vitality and value of borderland culture is growing at the margins, among borderland populations, as well as in the centers of power and opinion in both countries. Scholars and political leaders increasingly realize that the cultural encounters, syntheses, and resistances characteristic of border life signal similar cultural developments in the larger societies. This intensifying concern and scrutiny centers on the margin, but can it reduce the marginality in human rights, social dignity, and economic opportunity at the border? Listening to community voices of the border from the Mexican and United States sides can better inform our thinking and decision-making.

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Living on the Border:
A Wound That Will Not Heal

Norma E. Cantú

Living in the geographical area where the U.S. and Mexico meet, the truth is always present. It gnaws at one's consciousness like a fear of rabid dogs and coyotes. Beneath every action lies the context of border life. And one must see that undergirding for what it is — the pain and sorrow of daily reminders that here disease runs rampant, here drug crimes take a daily toll, here infant mortality rates run as high or higher than those in Third World countries, here one cannot drink the water, and here, this land that is our land — and has been our land for generations — is not really ours. But one must also see border life in the context of its joys, its continuous healing, and its celebration of a life and culture that survives against all odds. For to do otherwise condemns us to falling into the vortex of pessimism and anomie where so many already dwell.

La frontera: the frontier, the edges, the limits, the boundaries, the borders, the cultures, the languages, the foods; but more than that, the unity and disunity: *es lo mismo y no lo es* (it's the same and it isn't). Chicana novelist Gloria Anzaldúa speaks of this same terrain, this same geography, but her words are hers; they are not mine, not ours, not those of everyone living along the border. However similar experiences may be they are not the same, for the frontera is as varied as the geography from Matamoros/Brownsville to Tijuana/San Ysidro, and the people that inhabit this wrinkle in space are as varied as the indigenous peoples that first crossed it centuries ago and the peoples who continue to traverse it today. The Aztec pantheon didn't really rule these northern lands; and the *norteño* personality, customs, rites, and language are testament to that other native culture, now all but gone, which survives in vestiges sometimes as vague as an image in the sand, on the wall of a cave, or in the lexicon and intonation of a border native's speech.

These lands have always harbored transients, people moving sometimes north sometimes south. Like birds making their annual trek, migrant workers board up their homes and pack things in trucks and off they go with the local priest's blessing. In Laredo, in Eagle Pass, and elsewhere, the matachines celebrate on May 3rd, December 12th, or another significant date, and as they congregate to dance in honor of the holy cross, the Virgen de Guadalupe, or other local devotion, they remember other lands and other times. Spanish and English languages both change along the border — *mariachis* are flour tortilla tacos in Laredo and Nuevo Laredo and within a 50-mile radius of the area; the *caló* (slang) of the *batos locos*, lowriders, *cholos*, or *pachucos* maintains its literary quality in its excessive use of metaphor all along the stretch, yet changes from community to community, just as the names for food and even the foods themselves change. Differences have been there since the settlement of the borderlands in the 17th and 18th centuries, and the changes wrought upon the border culture have occurred over the span of more than 300 years; yet there are other changes, as well, ongoing changes that will alter the very fabric of borderlands culture.

The collusion of a myriad of cultures, not just Mexican and U.S., makes the borderlands unique. It is a culture forever in transition, changing visibly from year to year. The population increases in number and in variety, as Koreans, Indians, and other peoples of non-European, non-Indigenous, and non-Mestizo origin flow into the region. Because of such an influx, it

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At the feasts of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Holy Cross, the Matachines de la Santa Cruz affirm their spiritual bonds to the Virgin and the Cross, to each other, and to their community by dancing before their altar in the Ladrillera Barrio of Laredo. Most of the members of this religious brotherhood came to Laredo in the late 1930s from the mining towns of Chanel Palafox and Dolores in northern Mexico. ***Photo by Norma Cantú***

also changes environmentally, economically, and even in style.

The names for the river may be different — Río Bravo/Rio Grande — but it's the same river whose life-giving waters flow down from Colorado, and whose life-taking waters spill out into the Gulf of Mexico. The same river is a political boundary between two nation-states, but people on both sides of the river retain the customs of the settlers from Spain and from central Mexico along with those of the original inhabitants, which they have inherited and adapted to their particular needs.

Newcomers integrate their ways into the existing culture, but the old ones remain. Intriguing syncretisms occur. Weddings, for example, integrate traditional "Mexican" customs such as the Arabic *arras* (marriage coins) and the Native *lazo* (bonding cord) along with the German-style polka or *conjunto* music and *brindis* (toast). An infant's baptism becomes an occasion for godparents to exchange prayers, an indigenous form encapsulated in a European logic. Conversly, a *quinceañera* (young woman's 15th birthday) becomes the modern-day puberty rite of a community. In local dance halls dancers engage in weekly rites as culturally choreographed as those of the Catholic pilgrimages to santuarios from California to Texas; both customs embody forms and values that endure from times before European contact.

Gloria Anzaldúa says that "The U.S.-Mexican border *es una herida abierta* (is an open wound) where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds" (Anzaldúa 1987). And she continues the metaphor by adding that before the wound heals it "hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country — a border culture." First shaped by the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that cut the area in two, the wound has continuously bled, as politics, economics, and most recently environmental pollution exacerbate the laceration. If some healing occurs and a scab barely forms, a new blow strikes — such was the economic blow struck by the 1982 Mexican devaluation.

Ours is a history of conflict and resolution, of growth and devastation, of battles won and lost in conflicts not always of our making. Often these contradictory outcomes issue from the same set of historical events, like the development of the *maquiladora* industry, which provides jobs even as it renders the river's waters "a veritable cesspool" (*The Laredo Morning Times* 1993). The inhabitants of the borderlands live in the consequences of this history, in the bleeding that never stops. Those of us who inhabit this land must live with daily human rights violations, contrasting world views, two forms of currency, and different "ways of doing things" that in some

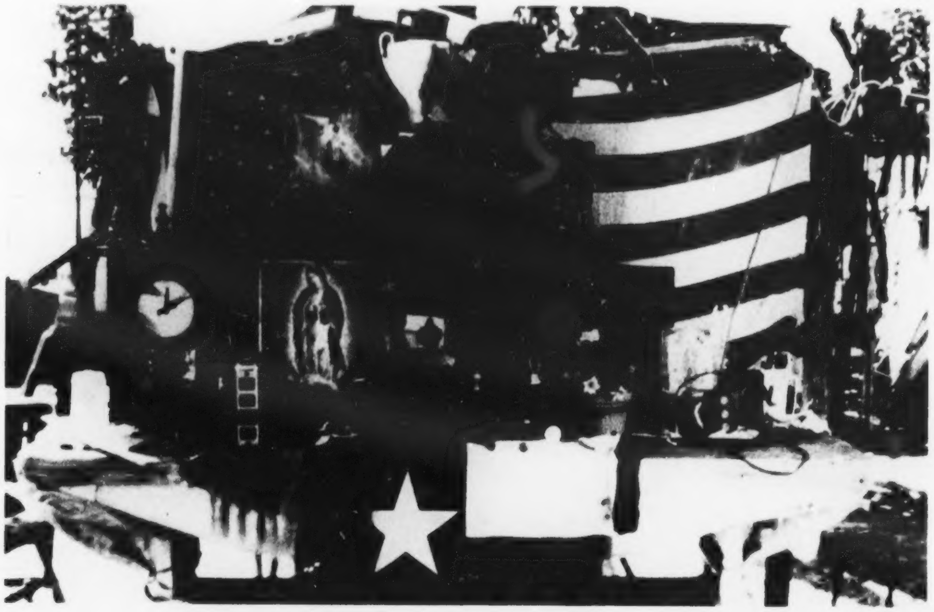
A migrant worker harvests celery and jokes with the photographer. In an interview conducted as part of the Borderlife Project of the University of Texas-Pan American, Donna Garcia describes part of her life as a Mexican migrant worker. "For years we had been traveling to west Texas to work the cotton crop. I would hear people always talking about 'Those migrant workers — look how they left this place; they're so dirty. You can't leave anything out while they are around.' I had heard these remarks so often that I thought they were talking of people in trouble with the law. One day my husband was talking of some mishap and I said, 'Oh, it was probably those migrant workers.' He looked at me and asked what I thought migrant workers were, so I told him. When I had finished he told me, 'Mama, we are migrant workers.'" ***Photo by Lillian M. Salcido***

cases make life easier but in others, nearly intolerable.

Immigration and emigration have shaped the borderlands. The exodus of Texas border natives to the metropolitan areas of Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio or to California or the Midwest during the 1950s was due in large measure to the depressed local economy. But, as emigration to the north occurred, immigration from Mexico into the area continued. The unemployment rates often hovered around the teens and did not noticeably decrease, in spite of large numbers of families relocating elsewhere, settling out of the migrant labor stream, in industrialized areas such as Chicago, or going to work in other areas of Texas.

In the 1980s and 1990s, some of these same people, now retiring from steel mills in Illinois or factories in Detroit, are returning as retirees and settling in the south Texas border communities they moved from 40 years ago. For many, like my mother's cousins who moved away and worked for Bethlehem Steel, Christmas and summer vacation were times to visit relatives on the border; these days, it is their children who make the trip down south to visit them.

But in many cases the move was permanent. With little to come back to, families settled permanently in places like California, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. This was the experience of my father's cousin who lives in Omaha and who retired from the upholstering business she worked in for over 30 years. She speaks of her life away and her reasons for leaving with great



The shrine in the yard of Isidro Ramírez, a Vietnam War veteran who lives in Laredo, commemorates his participation in the war and expresses gratitude for his safe return. Mr. Ramírez includes in his religious work traditional objects like candles, flower vases, and images of saints, and also personal offerings that express his patriotism and war experience like the flag of Texas and his military helmet. ***Photo by Norma Cantú***

pain: there were no jobs to be had; political machines controlled the few jobs there were; the pay was below the national minimum wage; the schools were not good for their kids; and the streets weren't paved. At least up north, in spite of discrimination, language barriers, alien foods, and cold weather, there were jobs; one could dream of a better life. The border population is in transition once again as it has been for centuries. The healing occurs for but a short time when the newly formed scab is torn by a new element, and the process begins anew.

The border is not homogenous in geography or in culture; there are many borders, resplendent in their heterogeneity. We who live in these realities celebrate our day-to-day life with family *carne asada* gatherings; with civic events such as George Washington's Birthday Celebration with its numerous border icons like the *abrazo* (embracing) ceremony and the International Parade; with high school graduations (currently attained by around 55% of students), and other markers of academic achievement; and with religious events, such as the matachines dance or the annual visit to the city by the image of the Virgen de San Juan de los Lagos in Mexico, venerated on both sides of the border.

The pain and joy of the borderlands — perhaps no greater or lesser than the emotions stirred by living anywhere contradictions abound, cultures clash and meld, and life is lived on an edge — come from a wound that will not heal and yet is forever healing. These lands have always been here; the river of people has flowed for centuries. It is only the designation "border" that is relatively new, and along with the term comes the life one lives in this "in-between world" that makes us the "other," the marginalized. But, from our perspective, the "other" is outside, away from, and alien to, the border. This is our reality, and we, especially we Chicanos and Chicanas, negotiate it in our daily lives, as we contend with being treated as aliens ourselves. This in essence is the greatest wound — the constant reminder of our otherness.

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Cultural Identities on the Mexico–United States Border

José Manuel Valenzuela Arce

Translated by Héctor Antonio Corporán

La frontera es la vitrina que exhibe un escenario donde confluyen dos actores de una misma obra: capitalismo avanzado y dependencia, internacionalización del proceso productivo y utilización intensiva de fuerza de trabajo barata y vulnerable; internacionalidad del mercado de trabajo y disminución de derechos laborales, identidades emergentes y profundas, y resistencia cultural. En este espacio se avecina la desigualdad, se evidencia la "desnacionalización", se transparenta la identidad.

A Mexican *chola* dressed in dark, severely styled clothes and a masculine hat. Her self-created persona embodies a defiant attitude towards authoritarianism, subordination, sub-estimation, and poverty. Mexican cholas tend to be more dominated by their patriarchal families than their counterparts across the border. *Photo by José Manuel Valenzuela Arce*

The indigenous communities of the Mexico-United States border region succumbed to violence, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and the catechism. From the era of the K'miais, Cucapas, Yumas, Apaches, and Yaquis, to the present, there have been a multitude of engagements and misencounters, fusions and ruptures, innovations and oblivions. Cultures in this region continually give shape to themselves through their interactions and relations and their social organizations, contradictions, and conflicts.

Much has been discussed about the dangerous possibility of *entreguismo* or "surrendering to foreign influence," by the border population in Mexico. But on the contrary, along that very border we find important sociocultural resistance movements which articulate their goals with verbal symbols, visual images, and reinterpretations of regional history that assert a cultural identity formed in opposition to the United States.

In the intense interactions on the Mexico-United States border one can see important processes of transculturation. These cultural processes are inevitable and should not automatically be understood as the loss of national identity. To the contrary, because these processes that occur in northern Mexico and southern United States involve relationships between neighbors across a border, their significance assumes an international dimension — even when they might seem to be local in nature. This point has been amply explained by Jorge A. Bustamante.

The border is a shopwindow that contains a staged encounter between two actors in the same play: advanced capitalism and dependency; the internationalization of production processes and the intensive utilization of cheap, vulnerable manpower; a global labor market and a decreased recognition of workers' rights and of indigenous and emerging identities. But in that scene in the border shopwindow there is also cul-

A group, or *clica*, of *cholos* pose in their neighborhood in front of a mural that depicts, among other elements, the Virgin of Guadalupe and an idealized cholo and chola. A defensible power space, the neighborhood is at once a nexus of solidarity and an immediate source of conflict. *Photo by José Manuel Valenzuela Arce*

tural fusion, re-creation, and resistance. In this space suffused by inequality, society becomes "dis-nationalized" and the sources of cultural identity become transparent.

Beyond faddish styles fashioned on American models particularly for consumption by the younger population, cross-border popular culture in our country is prominently expressed in *corridos*, *música norteña*, language, symbols, and youth movements. Among the most recent of these movements to become popular after the mid-1970s is *el cholismo* — the most massive youth phenomenon that emerged among the poor population in the northern part of the country. Cholos represent a major cultural paradox, for they import their national symbols from the Chicano and Mexican barrios in the United States. Many of these symbols had given voice to cultural resistance in the Chicano movement and among Mexican-born youths throughout the United States; they were redefined and integrated into the speech, graphic arts, and symbolism of cholos in Mexico.

On the other side, important sectors of the Mexican-born population in the United States resist emotional and cultural isolation by consuming cultural products made in our country. Unfortunately, the majority of these products offered through film and especially television are of deplorable quality. Mexicans in the United States are also culturally strengthened by further immigration of Mexicans to that country and by relationships formed with populations on the border. In these cultural interactions, as in the consumption of Mexican cultural products, and in the immigrants' implication in social and political processes in Mexico or in transnational processes such as undocumented migration, relationships between the Mexican and the Chicano

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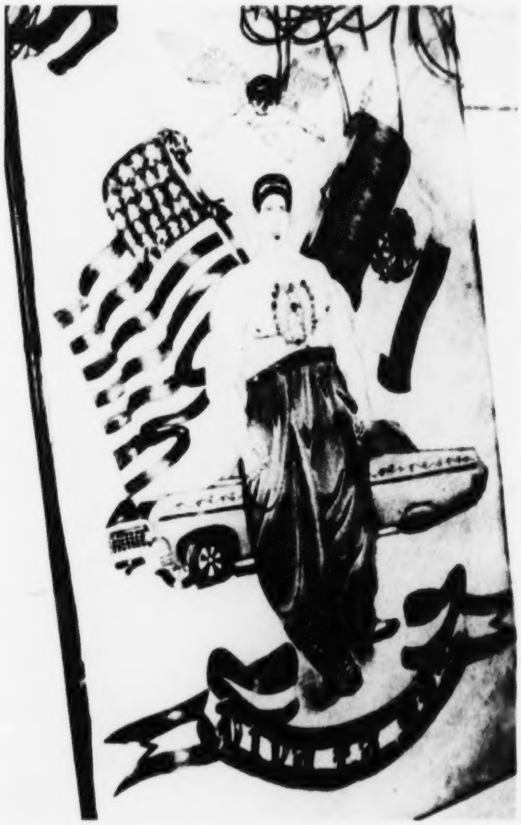

This mural, an expression of La Raza movement of the 1960s and 1970s, depicts a 1940s *pachuco* wearing characteristic baggy pants, tattooed with the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe, and positioned in front of a lowrider car and crossed Mexican and American flags. Confronted with social stigma, pachucos and their cultural heirs value boldness, valor, the aesthetic of "cool," and stoicism in confronting racism. Their symbolism reflects the international origins of their culture. *Photo by José Manuel Valenzuela Arce*

populations in the United States are shaped by what happens south of the border.

In the crucible of the border, culture is subjected to a process of purification that refines and redefines the dominant traits of Mexican national culture and combines them with other popular forms, regional expressions, and emerging identities. But the various collective identities (cholos, Mixtecos, Zapotecos) find themselves penetrated and influenced by proximity of the United States: an indispensable reference in the cultural analysis of our country's northern border. The presence of the United States takes various forms, and its cultural products are also redefined by the life experience of the social groups who use them.

People construct cultural identities with a wide range of expressions that associate them with some groups and differentiate them from others. The various collective identities on the border are linked by a common bond of differentiation from the United States and of construction from sources not bounded by the international line. They construct their identities in everyday interactions with the Mexican population in the United States, in characteristic usages of the terms "them" and "us," and in their cultural borrowings or reaffirmations of tradition that are the resources of their resistance. Cultural identity on the border often reinforces collective action closely linked to the class situation, as was the case with the Chicano Movement in the '60s; or in a fundamental way, identity can define popular youth expressions, as exemplified by *pachuquismo* and *cholismo.*

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The Problem of Identity in a Changing Culture:

Popular Expressions of Culture Conflict Along the Lower Rio Grande Border

Américo Paredes

Excerpted from Folklore and Culture on the Texas-Mexican Border. *1993. Austin: CMAS Books, Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas.*

Conflict — cultural, economic, and physical — has been a way of life along the border between Mexico and the United States, and it is in the so-called Nueces–Rio Grande strip where its patterns were first established. Problems of identity also are common to border dwellers, and these problems were first confronted by people of Mexican culture as a result of the Texas Revolution. For these reasons, the Lower Rio Grande area also can claim to be the source of the more typical elements of what we call the culture of the Border.

Life along the border was not always a matter of conflicting cultures; there was often cooperation of a sort, between ordinary people of both cultures, since life had to be lived as an everyday affair. People most often cooperated in circumventing the excessive regulation of ordinary intercourse across the border. In other words, they regularly were engaged in smuggling.

Borders offer special conditions not only for smuggling but for the idealization of the smuggler. This sounds pretty obvious, since, after all, political boundaries are the obvious places where customs and immigration regulations are enforced. But we must consider not only the existence of such political boundaries but the circumstances of their creation. In this respect, the Lower Rio Grande Border was especially suited for smuggling operations.

To appreciate this fact, one has only to consider that when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo officially settled the conflict over territory between Mexico and the United States, a very well defined geographic feature — the Rio Grande itself — became the international line. But it was a line that cut right through the middle of what had once been the Mexican province of Nuevo Santander. Friends and relatives who had been near neighbors — within shouting distance across a few hundred feet of water — now were legally in different countries. If they wanted to visit each other, the law required that they travel many miles up or down stream, to the nearest official crossing place, instead of swimming or boating directly across as they used to do before. It goes without saying that they paid little attention to the requirements of the law. When they went visiting, they crossed at the most convenient spot on the river; and, as is ancient custom when one goes visiting loved ones, they took gifts with them: farm products from Mexico to Texas, textiles and other manufactured goods from Texas to Mexico. Legally, of course, this was smuggling, differing from contraband for profit in volume only. Such a pattern is familiar to anyone who knows the border, for it still operates, not only along the Lower Rio Grande now but all along the boundary line between Mexico and the United States.

Unofficial crossings also disregarded immigration laws. Children born on one side of the river would be baptized on the other side, and thus appear on church registers as citizens of the other country. This bothered no one since people on both sides of the river thought of themselves as *mexicanos*, but United States officials were concerned about it. People would come across to visit relatives and stay long periods of

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time, and perhaps move inland in search of work. After 1890, the movement in search of work was preponderantly from Mexico deep into Texas and beyond. The ease with which the river could be crossed and the hospitality of relatives and friends on either side also was a boon to men who got in trouble with the law. It was not necessary to flee over trackless wastes, with the law hot on one's trail. All it took was a few moments in the water, and one was out of reach of his pursuers and in the hands of friends. If illegal crossings in search of work were mainly in a northerly direction, crossings to escape the law were for the most part from north to south. By far, not all the Mexicans fleeing American law were criminals in an ordinary sense. Many were victims of cultural conflict, men who had reacted violently to assaults on their human dignity or their economic rights.

Resulting from the partition of the Lower Rio Grande communities was a set of folk attitudes that would in time become general along the United States-Mexican border. There was a generally favorable disposition toward the individual who disregarded customs and immigration laws, especially the laws of the United States. The professional smuggler was not a figure of reproach, whether he was engaged in smuggling American woven goods into Mexico or Mexican tequila into Texas. In folklore there was a tendency to idealize the smuggler, especially the *tequilero*, as a variant of the hero of cultural conflict. The smuggler, the illegal alien looking for work, and the border-conflict hero became identified with each other in the popular mind. They came into conflict with the same American laws and sometimes with the same individual officers of the law, who were all looked upon as *rinches* — a border-Spanish rendering of "ranger." Men who were Texas Rangers, for example, during the revenge killings of Mexicans after the Pizaña uprising of 1915[1] later were border patrolmen who engaged in gunbattles with tequileros. So stereotyped did the figure of the rinche become that Lower Rio Grande Border versions of "La persecución de Villa" identify Pershing's soldiers as rinches.

A *corrido* [ballad] tradition of intercultural conflict developed along the Rio Grande, in which the hero defends his rights and those of other Mexicans against the rinches. The first hero of these corridos is Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, who is celebrated in an 1859 corrido precisely because he helps a fellow Mexican.

Other major corrido heroes are Gregorio Cortez (1901), who kills two Texas sheriffs after one of them shoots his brother; Jacinto Treviño (1911), who kills several Americans to avenge his brother's death; Rito García (1885), who shoots several officers who invade his home without a warrant; and Aniceto Pizaña and his *sediciosos* (1915). Some corrido heroes escape across the border into Mexico; others, like Gregorio Cortez and Rito García, are betrayed and captured. They go to prison but they have stood up for what is right. As the "Corrido de Rito García" says,

> *. . . me voy a la penitencia*
> *por defender mi derecho.*
>
> . . . I am going to the penitentiary
> because I defended my rights.

The men who smuggled tequila into the United States during the twenties and early thirties were no apostles of civil rights, nor did the border people think of them as such. But in his activities, the tequilero risked his life against the old enemy, the rinche. And, as has been noted, smuggling had long been part of the border way of life. Still sung today is "El corrido de Mariano Reséndez," about a prominent smuggler of textiles into Mexico, circa 1900. So highly respected were Reséndez and his activities that he was known as "El Contrabandista." Reséndez, of course, violated Mexican laws; and his battles were with Mexican customs officers. The tequilero and his activities, however, took on an intercultural dimension; and they became a kind of coda to the corridos of border conflict.

The heavy-handed and often brutal manner that Anglo lawmen have used in their dealings with border Mexicans helped make almost any man outside the law a sympathetic figure, with the rinche, or Texas Ranger, as the symbol of police brutality. That these symbols still are alive may be seen in the recent Fred Carrasco affair. The border Mexican's tolerance of smuggling does not seem to extend to traffic in drugs. The few corridos that have been current on the subject, such as "Carga blanca," take a negative view of the dope peddler. Yet Carrasco's death in 1976 at the Huntsville (Texas) prison, along with

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[1] The uprising occurred on the Lower Rio Grande Border and involved a group of Texas-Mexican *rancheros* attempting to create a Spanish-speaking republic in South Texas. Pizaña endeavored to appeal to other United States minority groups. [Original Editor's Note]

FOLKLORE
FOLKLORE

Américo Paredes is a folklorist, prize-winning author, and singer of border corridos.
Photo by Jane E. Levine, courtesy Texas Folklife Resources

two women hostages, inspired close to a dozen corridos with echoes of the old style. The sensational character of Carrasco's death cannot be discounted, but note should also be taken of the unproved though widely circulated charges that Carrasco was "executed" by a Texas Ranger, who allegedly shot him through the head at close range where Carrasco lay wounded. This is a scenario familiar to many a piece of folk literature about cultural conflict — corridos and prose narratives — the rinche finishing off the wounded Mexican with a bullet through the head. It is interesting to compare the following stanzas, the first from one of the Carrasco corridos and the other two from a tequilero ballad of the thirties.

El capitán de los rinches
fue el primero que cayó
pero el chaleco de malla
las balas no traspasó.

The captain of the Rangers
was the first one to fall,
but the armored vest he was wearing
did not let the bullets through.

En fin de tanto invitarle
Leandro los acompañó;
en las lomas de Almiramba
fue el primero que cayó.

They kept asking him to go,
until Leandro went with them;
in the hills of Almiramba
he was the first one to fall.

El capitán de los rinches
a Silvano se acercó
y en unos cuantos segundos
Silvano García murió.

The captain of the Rangers
came up close to Silvano,
and in a few seconds
Silvano García was dead.

Similar attitudes are expressed on the Sonora-Arizona border, for example, when the hard-case hero of "El corrido de Cananea" is made to say,

Me agarraron los cherifes
al estilo americano,
como al hombre de delito,
todos con pistola en mano.

The sheriffs caught me
in the American style,
as they would a wanted man,
all of them pistol in hand.

The partition of Nuevo Santander was also to have political effects, arising from the strong feeling among the Lower Rio Grande people that the land on both sides of the river was equally theirs. This involved feelings on a very local and personal level, rather than the rhetoric of national politics, and is an attitude occasionally exhibited by some old Rio Grande people to this day. Driving north along one of today's highways toward San Antonio, Austin, or Houston, they are likely to say as the highway crosses the Nueces, "We are now entering Texas." Said in jest, of course, but the jest has its point. Unlike Mexicans in California, New Mexico, and the old colony of Texas, the Rio Grande people experienced the dismemberment of Mexico in a very immediate way. So the attitude developed, early and naturally, that a border Mexican was *en su tierra* in Texas even if he had been born in Tamaulipas. Such feelings, of course, were the basis for the revolts of Cortina and Pizaña. They reinforced the borderer's disregard of political and social boundaries. And they lead in a direct line to the Chicano movement and its mythic concept of Aztlán. For the Chicano does not base his claim to the Southwest on royal land grants or on a lineage that goes back to the Spanish *conquistadores*. On the contrary, he is more likely to be the child or grandchild of immigrants. He bases his claim to Aztlán on his Mexican culture and his *mestizo* heritage.

Conversely, the Texas-born Mexican continued to think of Mexico as "our land" also. That this at times led to problems of identity is seen in the folksongs of the Border. In 1885, for example, Rito García protests illegal police entry into his home by shooting a few officers of Cameron County, Texas. He makes it across the river and feels safe, unaware that Porfirio Díaz has an extradition agreement with the United States. Arrested and returned to Texas, according to the corrido, he expresses amazement:

Yo nunca hubiera creído
que mi país tirano fuera,
que Mainero me entregara
a la nación extranjera.

I never would have thought
that my country would be so unjust,
that Mainero would hand me over
to a foreign nation.

And he adds bitterly:

Mexicanos, no hay que fiar
en nuestra propia nación,
nunca vayan a buscar
a México protección.

Mexicans, we can put no trust
in our own nation;
never go to Mexico
asking for protection.

But the *mexicanos* to whom he gives this advice are Texas-Mexicans.

Special thanks to Victor Guerra, Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Texas, Austin.

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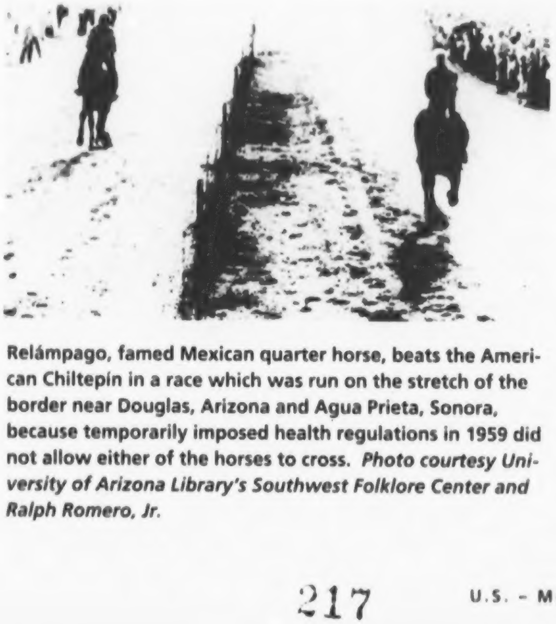
The Arizona-Sonora Border:
Line, Region, Magnet, and Filter

James S. Griffith

The Arizona-Sonora border was established as a result of the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. It runs through desert and mountain country, from the western Chihuahuan Desert over by New Mexico through a zone of grassland and oak-covered hills to the classic Sonoran Desert west of Nogales. The land gets more and more arid as one travels west, and the western third of the border is essentially devoid of human habitation. It is this stretch of the border, once a major road to the Colorado River, that has earned and kept the title, El Camino del Diablo, "The Devil's Highway."

There are six ports of entry on the Arizona-Sonora border. From east to west these paired towns are: Douglas/Agua Prieta, Naco/Naco, Nogales/Nogales, Sasabe/Sasabe, Lukeville/Sonoyta, and San Luis Rio Colorado, which has no corresponding town on the Arizona side. Between these towns stretches the border, for the most part marked by a three-strand barbed wire fence and a series of monuments. The border monuments are spaced so that each one is visible from its counterpart to the east and to the west. The fence traverses valleys, mountains, lush thickets, and sparse desert shrubbery.



Relámpago, famed Mexican quarter horse, beats the American Chiltepín in a race which was run on the stretch of the border near Douglas, Arizona and Agua Prieta, Sonora, because temporarily imposed health regulations in 1959 did not allow either of the horses to cross. *Photo courtesy University of Arizona Library's Southwest Folklore Center and Ralph Romero, Jr.*

Where it crosses true desert, truly deserted country, it is a simple three-strand barbed wire fence. In other stretches it changes to chain-link or, as recently between the two Nogaleses, to metal strips.

In the local Spanish, one enters the country illegally *de alambre* — "through the wire." One who does this is an *alambrista* — a "wireist." There are more sophisticated techniques as well. In 1990, customs officials discovered an elaborate tunnel leading from a warehouse in Agua Prieta to a similar structure in Douglas, Arizona. Hydraulic equipment had been installed at either end, and the whole set-up was capable of handling considerable quantities of goods. At least three *corridos* have been written and circulated about "el Túnel."

The fence serves other, more localized purposes from time to time. During the 1980s, an international volleyball game was regularly held near Naco. Each team played in its own country, with the chain-link fence serving as the net.

To the east, in Agua Prieta, match racing has long been an important form of recreation. In 1957, a horse named Relámpago (Lightening) won an important race and became the instant target of many challenges. One of the challengers was Chiltepín (named after the fiery local wild chile), from Pirtleville, on the U.S. side. Hoof-and-mouth regulations made it impossible for either horse to cross into the other's country. The solution: each horse ran on its own side of the fence. Relámpago won that one, too.

The international border creates more than a fence between countries. It also creates a de-nationalized zone, a region extending for many miles into each nation.

I keep being told that Nogales, Sonora,

THE AGUA PRIETA TUNNEL

By Los Jilgueros del Arroyo

El estado de Sonora	The (Mexican) State of Sonora
Ya está agarrando la fama	Is stealing the fame away
Que tenía Sinaloa	that used to belong to Sinaloa
Por la cuestión de la Mafia,	Due to the business of the Mafia,
Crímenes y fechorías	Crimes and acts of villainy
A la luz de la mañana.	In the broad light of day.
Primero lo de los muertos	First there were the bodies
Que a fragoso le achacaron.	That they blame on the rough order.
Luego siguió lo del Túnel	Then there was the tunnel
Que en la línea encontraron.	That they discovered on the border.
Pero lo hallaron solito	But they came upon it deserted
La droga ya había pasado.	The drugs had already passed.
En la jaula ya no caben	They no longer fit in the cage
Leones, tigres, y panteras.	Lions, tigers, and panthers.
Ese desierto está verde	That desert is green
Y el blanco luz a cualquiera.	And the white stuff shines for anyone.
Cuanta droga habrá pasado	How much drugs must have passed
¿Por el túnel de Agua Prieta?	Through the tunnel at Agua Prieta?

"isn't the real Mexico." That is perfectly true, of course, just as Nogales, Arizona, "isn't the real United States." Each is a border community, attracting business from the other side of the line. Folks cross the border each day to shop, work, and socialize. Each town has taken on some of the character of its counterpart on the other side of the line. For the traveler from Michigan, U.S.A., or Michoacán, México, the foreign flavor starts long before one arrives at the border crossing, and reminders of home persist long after one has crossed over into the other country.

The border attracts. Manufactured goods gravitate to it on their way into Mexico, and enough vegetables are attracted northwards to feed much of the western United States. The border region attracts tourists and travelers from the United States, seeking just to sample the charms of a foreign country, or passing through on their way farther south into Mexico. An increasing number of businesspeople and investors are drawn here, too. It attracts tourists from Mexico as well as those in search of economic opportunities. These may involve the assembly plants known as *maquiladoras* on the Sonoran side of the border, or they may lie farther north in the United States. Many opportunity seekers cross the border illegally.

This brings us to another important function of the border. As well as defining a subregion that is neither one place nor another, as well as serving as a magnet that draws goods and people from both countries, the border is also a barrier. It is intended to filter out undesirable influences going in both directions. So United States Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Border Patrol fight an unceasing and frustrating battle to ensure that only authorized, documented individuals cross into the United States. On the other side, Mexican Customs fights an equally endless campaign against the importation of untaxed goods, especially automobiles, into Mexico.

Another battle — a war, in fact — is constantly fought across the length and breadth of the border region between drug smugglers and those who would prohibit their traffic into the United States. This war touches the lives of everyone living within a hundred miles of the border.

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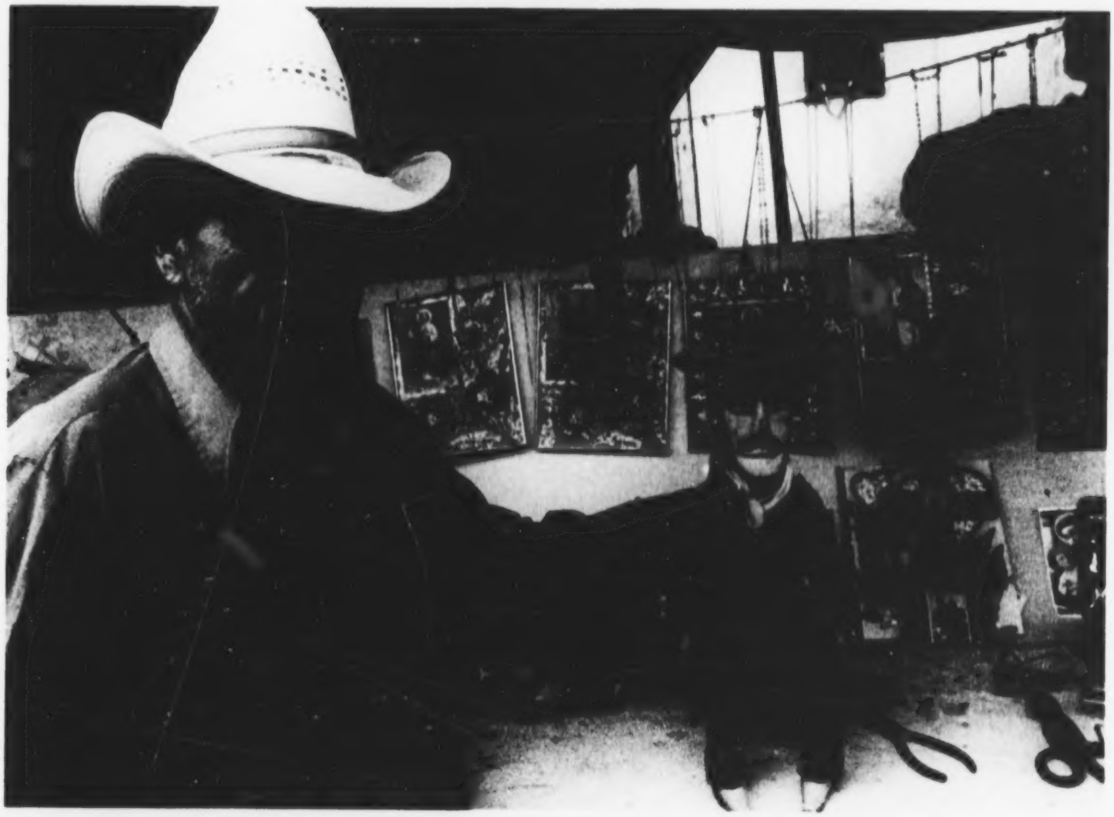
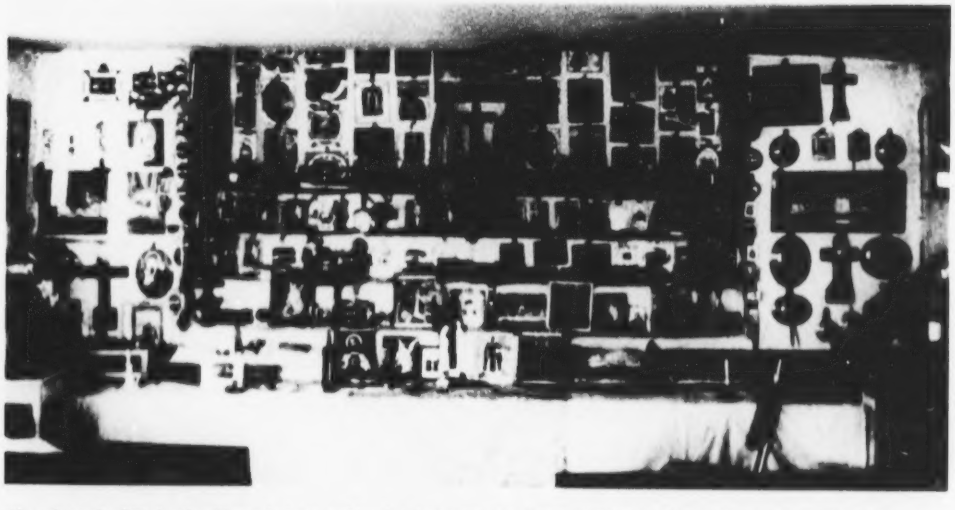


Jesús León, an itinerant puppeteer and craftsman, displays his puppet in his vending booth at the Fiesta de San Francisco in Magdalena, Sonora. The late Don Jesús also made tin frames with reverse-painted glass for holy images, a tradition he has passed on to his children. Itinerant craftsmen, known as *pajareros*, usually sell these frames with the holy image of the regional patron saint, San Francisco de Quino, or of the Virgin of Guadalupe. *Photo by David Burckhalter*



The chapel of Kohatk village is located in the Tohono O'odham Nation in the Arizona-Sonora border region. The pictures with reverse-painted glass in tin frames that flank the central cross were made by itinerant artisans from Imuris, known as *pajareros*. *Photo by James S. Griffith*

Gloria Moroyoqui carefully gathers cut tissue paper into a flower. In her kitchen workshop she makes paper flowers, *piñatas*, the decorated, confetti-filled eggshells called *cascarones*, and other crafts she creates out of available materials like scrap paper, cardboard boxes, popsicle sticks, and straws. ***Photo by Lyle Rosbotham***

while at the same time it remains almost completely invisible. Traces of it may be seen, of course, in newspaper headlines, in robberies by addicts, in the magical spells and prayers to dark powers which show up in displays of religious articles for sale, and in restrictions on travel to some deserted areas near the border. But many border residents shrug, remark that only drug people seem to be involved in the shoot-outs, and go on in their everyday way.

The border has touched the region's Native Americans in special ways. The Tohono O'odham claim ancestral lands on both sides of the border, and many interpret the Gadsden Purchase agreement as having granted them the right to move freely across the border within their lands. But O'odham land is being encroached upon by Mexican farmers and others in Sonora, and the stretch of the border that runs through O'odham land is vulnerable to smugglers. As a result, one needs a permit nowadays to travel along the southern portion of the Tohono O'odham Nation near the border, and crossings are not as easy as they once were for the O'odham themselves.

Yaqui Indians live on both sides of the border as well. Those living in southern Arizona claim as their homeland the valley of the Rio Yaqui, which is 300 miles south of the border. Especially at Easter time, Yaqui ritual musicians and dancers who live in Mexico travel north with their necessary regalia and instruments, crossing the border at Nogales and going on to Tucson to help their kinfolk perform necessary religious ceremonies in the United States. Their ritual equipment has long puzzled some U.S. Customs officials, and a booklet was issued around 1980 to convince government employees, for instance, that a long string of dried cocoon-husks is a leg rattle rather than a device for concealing heroin.

There is one more important observation to be made about the Arizona-Sonora border, or at least about its central part. It runs right down the middle of what is still, after almost 150 years, a cultural region in its own right.

When Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. arrived in this region in 1686 as its first permanent European resident, he called the country he moved into "la Pimería Alta," or "Upper Pima Country." This distinguished it from regions to the south where Piman languages were also spoken, as well as from the lands to the southeast and southwest, occupied respectively by Seris and Opatas. To the north of the Pimería Alta were lands occupied by other peoples, most particularly the Apaches. Three hundred years later, the Pimería Alta is still a cultural region, even though it has been divided between two nations that did not exist in Kino's day.

The region is unified by several elements. There are still Piman speakers (O'odham in their own language) on both sides of the border. Also, much the same in both countries is Mexican ranching culture, many of whose principal families straddle the border. The traditional, Jesuit-introduced, folk diet based on wheat, cheese, and beef is consistent throughout the region, as is the use of the unique *tortilla grande de harina* — the huge wheat flour tortilla that can measure well over a foot across, and whose lard content often renders it translucent. And finally, the region is bound together through a strong devotion to the composite San Francisco whose statue stands in Magdalena de Kino, Sonora.

Although the image in Sonora represents St. Francis Xavier, the day on which the annual fiesta is celebrated is October 4, the Feast of St. Francis of Assisi in the Roman Catholic calendar. This composite San Francisco is of tremendous regional importance, and his fiesta draws thousands of pilgrims from north of the border: Mexican Americans, Tohono O'odham, and Yaquis, with a few Anglos thrown in for good measure. Among the religious goods offered for sale to pilgrims at the Fiesta de San Francisco are colorful, reverse-painted glass frames for holy pictures.

These frames are made by several extended families of craftspeople. Each frame consists of a sheet of glass which has been painted with geometric or floral motifs on the back. Both opaque and translucent paints are used, and a rectangular space is left undecorated, for the holy card. The glass is then backed, first with a layer of crumpled tinfoil, and then with either cardboard or tin. The tinfoil gives a wonderful, shimmering quality to the translucent paint on the glass. While holy pictures are inserted into many of the frames, others are left bare, so the purchaser can insert a favorite saint's picture or even the portrait of a family member.

Many of these frames are purchased by Tohono O'odham and are taken back across the border to the altars of the small chapels which dot the Tohono O'odham Nation. Others are bought by Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Yaquis, and used on home altars. Some, however, are bought by Anglo-Americans, especially in the past ten years, during which time the painted frames have been exhibited in Tucson and Nogales as traditional art. In Mexican and Indian hands, the frames are colorful decorations for beloved holy pictures or family portraits. In Anglo hands, however, the frames themselves become the icons — symbols of the region and of its traditions.

In a like way, *piñatas* and *cascarones* (decorated eggshells which have been filled with confetti and mounted on decorated paper cones, and which are broken over party-goers' heads to increase the festive *ambiente* of the occasion) are purchased by some Anglos for their original, intended use, by others for use as wall decorations. In this guise they become visible symbols of the region and statements of their owners' sensitivity to the region. By the same token, some folk Catholic shrines in Tucson and elsewhere have become tourist destinations for Anglos wishing to understand regional traditions.

This then, is the Arizona-Sonora border. Belonging truly to neither nation, it serves as a kind of cultural buffer zone for both, cultivating its own culture and traditions. Like other borders, it both attracts and repels. Like them, it is both barrier and filter. It is above all a stimulating cultural environment. After 30 years as a resident, I can honestly say that I can think of no other place I would rather be.

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The Epic Tradition of the Founding of Nuevo Laredo

Manuel Ceballos-Ramírez

Translated by Olivia Cadaval

Perder la tierra, perder la lengua, perder las
costumbres, es perder el cimiento de la vida,
dejar de ser.
Pedro Casaldáliga

En Nuevo Laredo existe una de las tradiciones más significativas que contribuye a forjar la identidad de los habitantes de la frontera norte mexicana. Se trata de una tradición histórica que asegura que, en 1848 al perder México la pequeña población de Laredo — a causa de la firma del Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo entre México y los Estados Unidos — muchos de los laredenses la abandonaron. Según la tradición, la población de Laredo fue abandonada por sus habitantes porque no se resignaron a pertenecer a una nueva nación y decidieron emigrar a la margen derecha del Río Bravo y fundar otro asentamiento que bautizaron con el nombre de Nuevo Laredo, en recuerdo de la población perdida. Además, la tradición asegura que, no contentos con trasladarse ellos mismos al lado mexicano, también desenterraron a sus muertos, cruzaron sus restos y los reinhumaron en Nuevo Laredo con el fin de que no yacieran en territorio extranjero.

To lose the earth, to lose the language, to
lose the customs, is to lose the foundation
of life, to stop existing.
Pedro Casaldáliga

In Nuevo Laredo there is an historical tradition that is central to public expressions of civic identity at the border. It is the story of how, in 1848, when Mexico lost the small town of Laredo to the United States because of the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, many of its inhabitants abandoned their homes and emigrated to the other side of the Río Bravo, where they founded a settlement they called Nuevo Laredo in memory of their lost home. The tradition adds that they disinterred their dead, moved their remains across the river, and reinterred them in Nuevo Laredo so they would not lie in foreign territory.

This nationalistic tradition has been repeatedly cited throughout the history of Nuevo Laredo. In September of 1848 the governor of Tamaulipas lamented "the deep pains" that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had caused but recognized the "worthy and faithful Mexicans" who had moved to the Mexican side and founded Nuevo Laredo. At the end of the century, Juan E. Richer, author of the first known history of Nuevo Laredo, wrote:

> Celebrating the peace of 1848, many of the residents of the lost Laredo, not wanting to lose their nationality, or to form part of a nation whose race, ideas, customs, language, and religion were totally different from their own, crossed the river and established themselves between two small ranches . . .

The tradition achieved a culminating moment of glory during Nuevo Laredo's Centennial Celebration in 1948. It became part of the official shield of the city, whose motto, "Always with the Homeland," refers to the events of foundation. The tradition has also been evoked in sculptures, murals, poems, songs, hymns, street names, schools, as well as in political speeches. The civic monument to "the Founders" built in 1958 has the following words inscribed on it:

> A city as patriotic and Mexican in its very essence as Nuevo Laredo knows that a city

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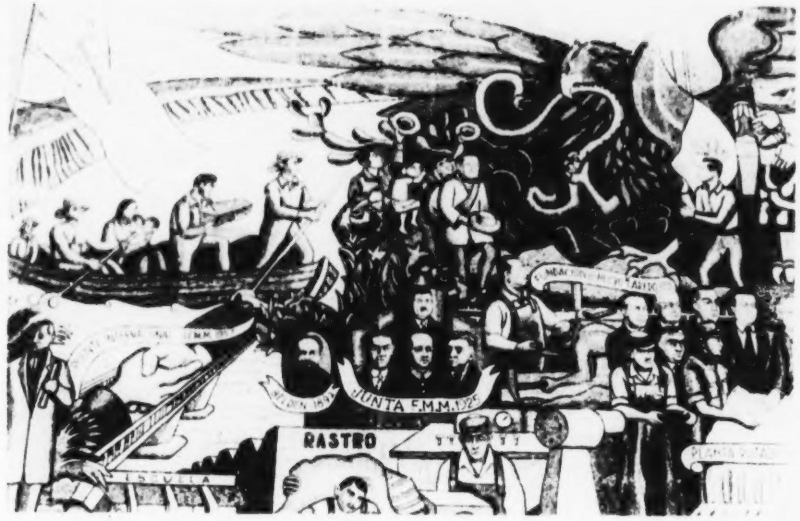
Manuel Ceballos-Ramírez, a native of Laredo, Tamaulipas, received his Master's from the Universidad de Monterrey and his Ph.D. from El Colegio de México. At present, he is Coordinator of the regional office of El Colegio de la Frontera Norte in Nuevo Laredo, Director of the Municipal Historical Archives, and Professor at the Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas.



The mural at the water plant in Nuevo Laredo commemorates the town's epic beginnings. When Laredo became part of the United States in 1848, the Mexican residents of Laredo, rather than lose their citizenship, crossed the newly-established border and founded Nuevo Laredo, carrying with them the disinterred remains of their ancestors. *Photo by Luis Barrera*

is not only a present and a future, but also a past; in order to settle in this site they brought the revered remains of their ancestors, making them part of Mexican history.

Some local historians have questioned the accuracy of the narrative because of its lack of historical documentation. But the historical record does include similar exoduses motivated by similar nationalistic concerns. And in this light, the story of the founding of Nuevo Laredo appears not only as a documentary problem but also as a problem in the history of ideas — their character and their diffusion, persistence and reproduction. In this sense, the narrative of the foundation of Nuevo Laredo can be considered as an epic and still more as a charter myth. As an epic, it is a deed of historic importance accomplished with great effort and difficulty. As a charter myth, it is a story that informs the conduct of a social group and symbolically expresses its attitude in confronting the world.

These two ideas, epic poem and origin myth, are immanent in the behavior valorized in tradition about the founding of Nuevo Laredo. On occasions when their civic identity is in question, this tradition roots Nuevo Laredoans and maintains them "always with the homeland." As long as this city occupies an important geopolitical position on the international border with the United States, the foundation myth of Nuevo Laredo will be fundamental to the expression of its civic identity.

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Border, Culture, and Maquiladoras: Testimonies of Women Workers

María Eugenia de la O

Translated by Olivia Cadaval

Actualmente la industria maquiladora de exportación representa la forma más conspicua del capital extranjero en México. Estas fábricas tuvieron su origen en 1965 como parte de un proyecto alternativo de industrialización para la frontera norte del país, así como medida preventiva de empleo para cientos de trabajadores mexicanos que retornarían de Estados Unidos al término del Programa de Braceros.

La presencia de la industria maquiladora en la región fronteriza ha generado formas específicas de industrialización y desarrollo regional, así como fenómenos sociales tales como la masiva presencia de mujeres, quienes tradicionalmente se han empleado en estas fábricas, lo que ha estimulado la formación de patrones culturales específicos.

The border *maquiladora* industry, the most conspicuous form of foreign investment in all of Mexico, was established in 1965 to absorb the labor freed up at the end of the Bracero Program, under which many Mexican workers served as migrant laborers on U.S. farms. Granted special dispensations in taxes, tariffs, and various forms of regulation by Mexican and U.S. governments, American-based companies like General Electric, RCA, and Kenworth have built assembly plants along the border. The presence of the maquiladoras has generated specific forms of industrialization and regional development, unique social phenomena such as the massive concentration of women workers, and specific cultural patterns that have been stimulated by these conditions.

The border is a frontier between two different economic and sociocultural worlds. It is also a place of refuge that shelters migrants from many areas of Mexico. Day by day a great cultural mosaic is created by the presence of indigenous peoples, border crossing guides, and male and female workers including punks and *cholos* (a kind of neighborhood youth identity), to mention a few of the border identities.

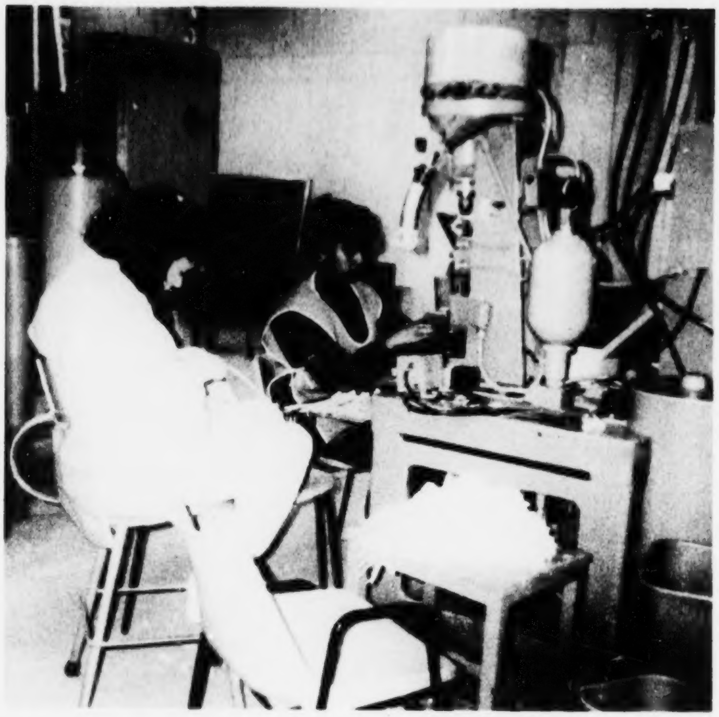
This cultural mosaic tends to be masked by the daily environment of maquiladora workers, which has been shaped to create conformity among workers through the more than 20 years of these border industries. The structuring of worker interactions throughout the border industrial complex has produced a standardization of experience throughout the spheres of labor, family, and neighborhood. The environment created by work has become the most important single factor in the expression of social identity among border workers.

Of course, the expression of identity may also be a point of resistance, a disruptive counterstatement to the dominant discourse:

> Here there are many girls that are real cholas . . . but the majority of the women say they are a disaster. They paint graffiti on doors, walls, and the bathrooms, and they fight too much. They know they won't be hired, so they get dressed well, normal like anyone. But once inside, they begin to dress chola.

Overall, the dominant maquiladora model defines workers as a unique and socially specific group. In this context, then, can we speak of a unified worker's identity or culture? Several complicating factors prevent this: principal among them are the cultures of distinct social groups at the border, brought there by massive migratory flows that serve the internationalization of productive processes. Cultural practices at the border are thus in constant reformation, reformulating and creating border identities.

This complexity should not cause us to lose sight of the fact that for maquiladora workers there are only two formative environments that bring together social and cultural life. The first is the work environment in the maquiladoras. The second is daily life in the workers' neighbor-



Maquiladora* workers attach electric harness wires for refrigerators, whose assembly will be completed in the United States. Mexico's regional industrialization program based on foreign-owned assembly line plants has attracted many migrants from the interior of Mexico to the border. *Photo by Olivia Cadaval

hoods of the border, which is increasingly coming under the control of the maquiladora managers.

In structuring the work environment, maquiladoras have always used motivational programs that combine control, supervision, and the elimination of production problems. This type of management achieves its ends by manipulating workers' subjective values with rewards and prizes directly related to production. Among the prizes commonly offered by the maquiladoras are holiday trips to the interior of the country, and hats, jackets, and T-shirts bearing legends such as those used by RCA: "RCA and I are a team," "I am part of RCA," or "I collaborate with RCA." According to the workers, these prizes are awarded

> . . . to achieve higher quality. They give us pastry, ice cream, and parties, there in Taxca, or even take the whole production line to eat in Tenampa. When we achieve good production or rejection ratios, perhaps 100% or even only 70, we go with the supervisor, the boss of the work group, and all the operators. . . . In Taxca, they know how to value and recognize quality and their workers. In Taxca, the workers think they are the best even though there are no studies. There is only one level above your supervisor, but everyone knows all the positions and the level of performance of everyone else, so it works out well. . . . They tell us that this place is our place but I don't think so. For example, there is this person that hires us. He tells us that we are pure garbage and that is why we are here. We have told this to the bosses, but they do nothing. For another example, I talked to one of the bosses, and he said I had a bad attitude. Well, what I had said was, "Just hear me out. We are taken advantage of all the time, but however much we complain, we aren't given the power to change anything."

In the world of the maquiladora there are

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poor working conditions, punishments, and the glaring disadvantage of being a woman.

> . . . I have to take two buses, really four — two going and two coming. Sometimes the public bus doesn't meet the factory bus and I have to pay. Then we have to be there at six so I have to get up very early. . . . The work is very hard, very dirty. You work with metals, and all the time you are shaking off shavings and picking out splinters. . . . When I cut off that finger they sewed back on, I grabbed it and threw it into my jacket pocket. . . . And then there was the supervisor who walked in with a female maintenance worker that repaired small things. And after a little while, he got her pregnant. Although he was married, he continued to pursue her. She already had a girl. When she felt bad or needed something, the supervisor authorized her time card. And the office realized he signed her card when she wasn't there, so they fired them both.

As the border industries developed, company control spread to the daily life of the workers outside the factory environment. Workers' free time is now managed by the maquiladora through sports, dances, gymnastics, birthday celebrations, festivals, and beauty competitions. According to management these types of activities make workers feel at home. This feeling of being "in a family," is explicitly mentioned in the invitations to workers and their kin.

Workers in the maquiladora in Juárez have their own nightclub, the Malibú, which has room for about 3,000 people and operates when it doesn't conflict with work schedules. Its regulars playfully call it the "Maquilu," a border-beach hybrid, and often party there till dawn. The Malibú nightclub and other similar installations encourage values and needs desired by the maquiladora management. Norma Iglesias quotes workers as saying that before they began to work in the maquiladora, they didn't go out to have a good time, but preferred to stay at home. That changed with work at the maquiladora.

The factory environment does allow many workers to escape, for a time, their poor living conditions. They spend a large part of their free time in the plant's recreational facilities, where they can meet their friends and even bring their family to events organized by the company. In their imaginations contrasts are sharpened between the modern, industrialized ambience of the factory and the extreme poverty of workers' neighborhoods.

Workers sometimes use company incentives in their own survival strategies, rotating from one maquila to the next in search of good prizes or bonuses for signing on. They seek "good" companies, easier schedules, and better transportation benefits. They seek better working conditions, and especially look for a fun social environment where they can find all they need for their recreation. Networks among the workers help one pick out the best plant. Most workers have a friend or relatives in one plant or another.

Is there a workers' culture on the border? For more than 20 years workers have shared a set of common experiences of work and life in maquiladoras, but it is premature to speak of a "workers' culture," if we understand by this a vision of the world defined by class interests. Similarities in the composition of the work force, in the workers' condition as migrants, and in age are not by themselves sufficient to constitute a culture. Part of workers' culture also resides in the family, the neighborhood, and the borderland context in which distinct roles and identities like the punk, the student, the single mother, and the chola converge. Maquiladora workers' culture is rather a sector shared by, or accessed through, many larger cultural worlds.

As one maquila worker put it:

> . . . well, it's very difficult. It's not that there was no other work — it's where one ends up, the last place you go. If you don't get something in one place, and there's no way, this leaves going to a maquila. . . . I always said, I am never going to work in a maquila, but yet here I am.

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The Mixteco Presence in Tijuana

Francisco Javier Moreno B.

Translated by Olivia Cadaval

A más de 3.000 kilómetros de su lugar de origen, los mixtecos encontraron en Tijuana, Baja California, un territorio base para asentarse y distribuirse. A esta ciudad llegan y se quedan, o bien de ésta salen hacia San Quintín, al sur del estado, o bien hacia el norte, a los campos y calles de California. En ese movimiento se ha ido forjando en Tijuana una comunidad mixteca de más de 5.000 miembros que se llaman a si mismos paisanos, mixtecos o oaxaqueños y que los demás los nombran inditos, oaxacas, marías, sureños. Se asienta la mayoría de los mixtecos en la colonia Obrera, al suroeste de la ciudad, entre lomas y cañadas que mucho les recuerda a su natal Mixteca o "pueblo de nubes".

Since 1960, many Mixtecos have migrated more than 3,000 kilometers (2,000 miles) from their home villages in the state of Oaxaca to Tijuana, settling there and using their community as a way station for further migrations south to San Quintín or north to California. In Tijuana a Mixteco community of more than 5,000 members call one another *paisano* (fellow countryman), *mixteco*, or *oaxaqueño* (Oaxaca), while others call them *inditos* (little Indian), *oaxacas*, *marías* (term for Indian migrant street vendors), or *sureños* (southerner). The majority of the Mixtecos have settled in the Obrero district in the southeast of the city, among hills and narrow canyons reminiscent of the landscape in their native Mixteca or "country of clouds."

In the cultural mix of Tijuana, to which indigenous and mestizo peoples from all over Mexico continue to migrate, Mixtecos insist that they are an accepted and recognized part of urban society. At the same time most of them continue to explore their remembered traditional culture. Mixtecos in Tijuana still value this cultural heritage, although they perceive that in their present lives it is of little use to them. They still desire aspects of the life in Mixteca, and they return there when they can to celebrate feasts, to check on land holdings, or for other family matters. Mixteca remains a focus of collective memory.

The Mixtecos have achieved recognition among ethnic groups in Tijuana for the way they celebrate the Day of the Dead. To this traditional feast in the popular religious calendar of Mexico, Mixtecos have added mysticism and symbolism beyond the common Catholic practices in Tijuana. Each year members of the Mixteco community are asked to assist in the design and preparation of Day of the Dead altars at educational and recreational centers. The city's primary and secondary schools hold competitions in Day of the Dead altars, in which Mixteco influence has become quite evident in expressive styles not commonly seen in other cities of northern Mexico.

In Tijuana Mixtecos speak their own language among themselves but learn Spanish and English for social and economic survival. Each region of Mixteca from which migration comes has its own dialect, but these sociolinguistic differences are minimized in Tijuana.

Mixtecos draw social distinctions on the basis of "having made it" economically, giving prestige to the older and more successful members of the community, to bilingual Mixteco teachers, and to those with relatives on the other side of the border who send support. Mestizos among the Mixtecos often distinguish themselves in the ethnic slurs they use, the fights they provoke, and the socioeconomic advantage they take. On their

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Curriculum in the Escuela Bilingüe El Pípila includes Mixteco language and culture. ***Photo by Ricardo García***

side, Mixtecos often want to become like mestizos, speaking Spanish, dressing urbanely, and gaining access to higher levels of consumption — although some Mixtecos live better than mestizos in the Obrero district of Tijuana.

Among Mixtecos, women have greater contact with mestizos in the rest of the city, for women sell diverse products in the market places. Mixteco men work mostly in the United States. A large number of young Mixtecos now work in *maquiladora* assembly plants, as domestics, as masons and construction workers, and as gardeners. Some have become public employees.

Mixtecos see language as the key to cultural identity. The permanent flow of migrants to and from Oaxaca has supported the continued use of Mixtecan in Tijuana. And in daily classes, Mixteco teachers transmit knowledge and pride in their language, using it to explain and celebrate the value of their traditions, especially foods, fiestas, songs, and stories.

The rural, ethnic, and community based culture of Mixtecos in Tijuana is undergoing a transformation whose outcome cannot be completely predicted. Many families continue to preserve their culture, while others let traditional practices fall by the wayside, for there is no communal obligation to keep the faith as there is in the Mixteca. Most insist on the community basis of Mixtecan culture, but now also recognize the existence of individualism. The necessities and opportunities they encounter in the city oblige them to adopt this other kind of identity. Distinction and stratification are becoming more visible, measured in income and expressed in social ostentation.

With all of this, members of the Mixteco community in Tijuana aspire to find a better way of life. They honor their cultural heritage, but finding it not respected and, furthermore, a cause of discrimination, they continue to lose what they value as they confront the need to search for ways of being counted in the larger society. At the same time that they demand respect for their rights as citizens, as workers, and as human beings, they are adopting many aspects of Mexican border culture.

Mixtecos perceive their future in Tijuana is one of hope and possibility. Confronted with returning to the extreme poverty of the Mixteca, the majority seems ready to remain in Tijuana. The cost is a change of identity, never being the same again. The benefit is survival.

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Mixteco Women on the Migration Route

Laura Velasco Ortiz

Translated by Héctor Antonio Corporán

Siguiendo el viaje de algunas mujeres mixtecas que salieron de su pueblo y se instalaron, hasta ahora en Tijuana, aparece el dinamismo de la migración. Cambios como la adolescencia, el noviazgo, el casamiento o la unión, la llegada de los hijos y a veces la muerte, son sucesos teñidos por los vaivenes de la migración.

> *. . . Una vez que se sale del pueblo la vida cambia. O se encuentra novio, o se casa, o se tiene un hijo. Ya no es la misma que salió . . .*
>
> *Doña Guadalupe Santillán*

Back home it rains hard. That's why rivers overflow and bridges fall down. When our house was flattened, everything got soaked, totally destroyed, even the birth certificates.

I was born in San Miguel Aguacate, a district of Silacayoapan, in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca. As a child I helped my parents pull the weeds in the field. Otherwise, I looked after the cows. I didn't last long in school, because the teacher hit me a lot, and I would spend a lot of time hiding under chairs.

I married at age 13. When I turned 17, I left San Miguel, traveling with my husband to Veracruz and Tres Valles Potreros to cut sugar cane for Boss Manuel. I used to cut 120 or 125 bundles per week, and my husband, 80 or 85. They paid us 50 pesos for our combined work. Of course, the money was given to him. He was the man.

When my parents died, I left that man. He beat me a lot. I put up with him because of my parents. But, "It's over," I told myself — and grabbed my children and moved to Mexico City, and from there to Juárez. Along the way I would sell peanuts, seeds, candies, and apples. One day my oldest son said to me, "Look mother, let's go to Tijuana. They say there is plenty of help for poor people there."

And here you have me in Tijuana telling you all this. Go back? No, I won't go back. Everything there is very sad. I tell my children, "If you want to return, go ahead — to each his own." My life is here.

Doña Guadalupe Santillán[1]

The Mixteca region of Oaxaca still maintains the humble beauty of many of Mexico's indigenous regions — and also their poverty, erosion, uncultivated parcels of land, and old trucks that come and go loaded with migrants. Listening to the stories of Mixteco women who have migrated from their community, one sees in their faces the imprint of these landscapes. Doña Santillán's departure from home, though less common than that of men, is a familiar individual and cultural experience. Mixteco women do domestic work in middle and upper class homes in cities like Mexico City, Oaxaca, Puebla, and more recently, Guadalajara, Nogales, Ciudad Juárez, and Tijuana. They also work as street vendors.

For a long time Mixtecos have been part of the labor migrations to agricultural fields in Veracruz, Morelos, and what could be called the northwestern agricultural strip of Mexico — Sinaloa, Sonora, and Baja California — and even further to the fields of California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, and occasionally, Idaho. Mixteco women use this route in lesser proportion than the men, and their experience of it differs markedly, for unlike most men, they usually travel in the company of a family member.

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[1] These testimonies by Mixteco women who settled in the border city of Tijuana are not intended to be a unified portrait of the female migration from the Mixteca region of Oaxaca. In addition to expressing individual and often unique experiences, they reflect different sub-regions of Oaxaca. The majority of the families established in the Obrera neighborhood of Tijuana are from the Silacayoapan district, especially from the towns of San Jerónimo del Progreso, Santa María Natividad, and Nieves Ixpantepec, and in notably lesser proportion from the district of Huajuapan de León and Juxtlahuaca.

In migration, one's environment is continually changing — a picture that emerges in experiences narrated by some of the Mixteco women who left their towns to settle for the present in Tijuana. One's experiences of adolescence, engagement, marriage, birth, and death, are shaped by the to-and-fro activities of migration. To create their culture, Mixteco men and women migrants have combined urban and rural knowledge; they have spanned short and long cultural distances. In this versatile, regional, migrant culture, migration is a 'permanent event' that becomes part of life, not a brief experience that can be told as an adventure. For these migrants, adventure is all of life. In the shortest time, unexpected change can happen.

> I married at the age of 14. My husband was 35. I did not love the unfortunate man — I was already too grown up, and he was from another town. But before, when a man asked for the hand of a girl and the mother said yes, there was no question. You had no choice but to marry.
>
> I went with him to live in his town, but not for long because he was killed in the hills. He used to sell dried pepper that he would bring from Pinotepa Nacional. On his way back, he was attacked on the road by robbers. So, after 11 months I was back at home.
>
> I stayed there for a while, and when I turned 16 an aunt took me to Mexico City to work. I took care of a woman who lived alone — I swept, washed, and ironed for her. When my oldest brother became widowed he came to get me, but my employer offered to raise my wages, and she gave him a tip. That's how I ended up staying longer with her. But then my mother became ill, and then there was no choice. I had to return home to care for my brother's children and my mother.
>
> Doña Elisa Hernández

Although the reasons a woman first migrates are different in each case, fairly constant factors are her youthfulness and a contact with another migrant that shapes her future. The majority of Mixteco women became migrants in their adolescence, just like the majority of all migrants in our country.

> As far back as I can remember, my parents used to send us to haul water on a donkey from a distant river. In those days school was not mandatory like nowadays. Not at all! One was dedicated to keeping house — getting up early to make tortillas or going to the fields to help plant corn. That was the life there — corn, cows, and goats. When things went well we harvested a lot of corn. Otherwise we sold the animals.
>
> My mother worked very hard. When there was a shortage of corn — as we have had in recent months without a good crop — my father would go to yoke the animal, while she bought or borrowed corn, carrying it on her back for three or four kilometers (two to two-and-a-half miles).
>
> That's how it was until we, the children, grew up and began to make it on our own. My parents had never gone outside the town. My brother was the first, and then I followed. He went to Mexico City to work as a bricklayer, and my aunt got me a job with a lady in her house. I was able to visit home regularly.
>
> I finally decided to leave home because it was very difficult for me. My mother would have me prepare six or seven kilos (13-15 pounds) of tortillas — there were about eight of us in the family — for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. It was too much. That's why one day I said, "No, I won't stay here any longer," and left.
>
> Doña Paz Vera

In some cases, like that of Doña Paz Vera, migration is the alternative of choice, while in others it is a result of marriage.

> At the age of 15 I met a man of 27. He was a migrant who traveled to and from the

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After years of struggling for a place to ply their trade, Mixteco vendors cleaned and rebuilt the fountain in the Plaza de Santa Cecilia. Today it is one of the major craft markets for border tourists in Tijuana. ***Photo by Laura Velasco Ortiz***

Mixteco women vendors arrange their display on their cart in the Plaza de Santa Cecilia in Tijuana. ***Photo by Laura Velasco Ortiz***

> fields of Sinaloa . . . We dated for a year before I married him . . . when I was 17 years old, he went to the United States. He later returned and said to me, "This time we go together" . . . And we went to work in San Quintín, Baja California.
>
> Doña Natalia Flores

But migration is also sometimes inherited, the destiny of progeny. For families with a migrant tradition, mobility is a fundamental strategy for survival. Children experience their parents' migration as personal and family destiny, integrating it into their lives as an inevitable part of the future.

> I migrated when I was 14 years old, about five years ago, now. I left with my father and a younger brother. My mother could not come because she was nursing, and there was no one else to take care of the house. It took us a month to reach Tijuana because we left without money. My father would play the saxophone while my brother and I passed the hat. I am now married to a man I met here. He is from my town back in Oaxaca and works on the other side, the United States.
>
> Doña Juana Flores

It could be said paradoxically that change is a constant in these women's experience — change in residence, life cycle, and historical moment. These combine to shape the life of a woman who first leaves home under circumstances that bring together personal reasons, family ties, and misfortune.

> Once you leave your hometown, life changes. You either find a boyfriend, get married, or have a child. You are not the same one that left.
>
> Doña Guadalupe Santillán

In the course of migration unforeseen events take place. Guadalupe migrated for the first time to Mexico City, and later returned to her town, where she lived for some time. There she gave birth to a child and after a period again migrated to agricultural fields in the northwest:

> After my return home from Mexico City I took care of my widowed brother's children. I spent seven years raising them until I married my second husband. I stayed three years with him and had three children. My husband migrated regularly to Culiacán until one day he found another woman and did not return. I was left alone with my children and my mother, without anyone to wait for. And so I also went to work in Culiacán. My children stayed home with my mother. In the fields I met another man. I started to live with him, and together we went to work in Obregón.
>
> Doña Elisa Hernández

Migratory routes of Mixteco women are shaped by events of the life cycle. For example, marriage in the life of the young woman who migrated at 14 to do domestic work in Mexico City might cause her to choose a different migration alternative, perhaps to northern Mexico with her new husband, or with her children alone after a separation. The arrival of children coincides with a return to the place of origin. The growth of the children again changes women's migrations. When the children reach adolescence they usually get married, and then the women seem to stabilize themselves. They settle for longer periods, and like their parents, care for their grandchildren while sons and daughters migrate to California or Baja California.

Constant migration makes 'place of destination' a relative concept — referring to a month in Mexico City, another in Culiacán, others on the coast of Hermosillo, afterwards a few years in Tijuana, or many more in the United States. But the 'final destination' seems to be a Mixteco's own place of origin. This seems the principal ethnic feature of this migratory movement: the constant link with the community of origin.

In this venture women play a notable role. By preserving the home, whether in their Mixteca towns or in intermediate destinations — Mexico City, Ensenada, Tijuana — they make it possible for other members of the family, men and women, to achieve the mobility necessary for travel on old routes or new ones. Their keeping of the home fires includes not only awaiting and welcoming, but also supporting family members who remain at home.

Tijuana is one such migrant home base maintained by women at an intermediate destination. Its location on the Mexico-United States border allows cross-border mobility for some family members, especially the men, to travel between the agricultural fields in northern Mexico and southwestern United States. Mixteco women in Tijuana, in domestic roles and as wage earners, support the growth of the largest ethnic group that settled in Baja California.

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The Texas–Mexican Conjunto

Manuel Peña

One of the most enduring musical traditions among Mexicans and Mexican Americans is the accordion-based ensemble known as *conjunto* (and as *música norteña* outside of Texas). Popular for over 100 years — especially since its commercialization in the 1920s — this folk ensemble remains to this day the everyday music of working-class Texas Mexicans and Mexican *norteños* (northerners). During the course of its long history, the conjunto evolved into a tightly organized style that speaks musically for the aesthetic and ideological sentiments of its adherents. In the process, this music of humble beginnings along the Texas–Mexico border has spread far beyond its original base, gaining a vast audience in both Mexico and the United States.

The diatonic, button accordion that anchors the conjunto made its first appearance in northern Mexico and south Texas sometime in the 1860s or '70s. The first accordions were simple one- or two-row models — quite suitable for the musical capabilities of the first norteño and Texas Mexican musicians who experimented with the instrument. A strong regional style developed by the turn of the century, as the accordion became increasingly associated with a unique Mexican guitar known as a *bajo sexto.* Another local folk instrument, the *tambora de rancho* (ranch drum), also enjoyed prominence as a back-up to the accordion. In combination with one or both of these instruments, the accordion had become by the 1890s the instrument of preference for working-class celebrations on both sides of the Texas–Mexico border.

In Texas, these celebrations were organized frequently — too frequently for some Anglos, who voiced their disapproval of fandangos, or "low-class" dances, in the newspapers. For example, the *Corpus Christi Caller* and the *San Antonio Express* on more than one occasion expressed Anglos' negative attitudes toward *tejano* music and dance. In one report, the *Express* equated music and dancing with idleness and concluded that "these fandangos have become so frequent they are a great curse to the country" (August 20, 1881). This typical attitude developed early on and persisted well into the 20th century.

Despite Anglo disapproval, the conjunto and its dances thrived among tejano workers, eventually eclipsing all other forms of music for dancing. Yet, popular as it was, the conjunto remained an ad hoc ensemble until the 1930s. No permanent combination of instruments had been established prior to that time, perhaps because creative and material forces had not yet crystalized to spur radical stylistic development. To be sure, some changes had been wrought by the 1920s, as the button accordion and the bajo sexto by now formed the core of the emerging style, while such common European dances as the redowa had been regionalized and renamed. The redowa itself had been transformed into the *vals bajito,* in contrast to the waltz, which was known as a *vals alto.* Indeed, most of the repertory for the dance, or fandango, was of European origin and included the polka, mazurka, and schottishe, in addition to the waltz and redowa. One regional genre from Tamaulipas, Mexico, the huapango, rounded out the usual repertory of conjuntos until World War II.

Beginning in the 1930s, an innovative surge rippled through the emerging conjunto tradition, as performers like Narciso Martínez (known as "the father" of the modern conjunto), Santiago Jiménez, Lolo Cavazos, and others began to strike out in new stylistic directions. This new surge of innovation must be attributed, at least in part, to the active commercial involve-

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Pedro Ayala was one of the early accordion leaders and innovators in the *conjunto* tradition. ***Photo courtesy National Council for the Traditional Arts***

ment of the major recording labels in the music of the Hispanic Southwest. From the 1920s, companies such as RCA Victor (Bluebird), Decca, Brunswick, and Columbia (Okeh) began exploiting the musical traditions in the Hispanic Southwest, hoping to repeat the success they had experienced with African American music since the early '20s. Under the commercial impetus of the big labels, which encouraged record and phonograph sales, radio programming and, especially, public dancing (much of it in cantinas, to the dismay of Anglos and "respectable" Texas Mexicans), musicians like Narciso Martínez began to experiment. By the end of the 1930s, the conjunto had begun to evolve into the stylistic form the ensemble reached during its mature phase in the post-World War II years.

Without a doubt, the most important change came in the 1930s, when Narciso Martínez began his recording career. Searching for a way to stamp his personal style on the accordion, Martínez abandoned the old, Germanic technique by virtually avoiding the bass-chord buttons on his two-row accordion, concentrating instead on the right hand, treble melody buttons. His sound was instantly distinctive and recognizable. Its brighter, snappier, and cleaner tone contrasted with the older sound, in which bajo sexto and the accordionist's left hand both played bass-and-accompaniment, creating a "thicker," drone-like effect. Martínez left bassing and chordal accompaniment to the bajo sexto of his most capable partner, Santiago Almeida.

Narciso Martínez's new style became the hallmark of the surging conjunto, just as Almeida's brisk execution on the bajo sexto created the standard for future *bajistas*. Together, the two had given birth to the modern conjunto, a musical style that would challenge even the formidable mariachi in cultural breadth and depth of public acceptance. Indeed, by the 1970s it could be said that the conjunto, known in the larger market as *música norteña*, was the most powerful musical symbol of working-class culture. Martínez, however, remained an absolutely modest folk musician until his death. He never laid claim to anything but a desire to please his public. Yet, as Pedro Ayala, another of the early accordion leaders, acknowledged, "after Narciso, what could the rest of us do except follow his lead?"

In the years following World War II younger musicians rose to prominence — *la nueva generación* (the new generation), as Martínez himself called the new crop of accordionists. Led by Valerio Longoria, who contributed a number of innovations to the rapidly evolving style, the new generation quickly brought the conjunto to full maturity after the war. Longoria started his trailblazing career in 1947; however, his greatest contributions date from 1949, when he introduced the modern trap drums into the conjunto. Combined with the contrabass, introduced in 1936 by Santiago Jiménez, the drums rounded out the modern ensemble, which after 1950 consisted of accordion, bajo sexto (sometimes guitar), drums, and contrabass (electric bass after about 1955). Longoria also is credited with another major contribution: he introduced vocals into the ensemble, which prior to World War II had restricted itself almost exclusively to instrumental music. After Longoria's move, most of the older genres — redowa, schottishe, etc. — were abandoned as the polka and the vocal, in the form of the *canción ranchera* (either in vals or polka time), became the staples of the modern conjunto.

Several highly innovative performers followed Valerio Longoria. Among the most notable is Tony de la Rosa, who established the most ideal conjunto sound in the mid-1950s — a slowed-down polka style, delivered in a highly staccato technique that was the logical culmination of Narciso Martínez's emphasis on the treble end of the accordion. Los Relámpagos del Norte, a group from across the border (Reynosa), made significant contributions in the 1960s, synthesizing the more modern conjunto from Texas with the older norteño tradition to create a style that reached new heights in popularity, both in Mexico and the U.S. When the leaders of Los Relámpagos, Cornelio Reyna and Ramón Ayala, went their separate ways, the latter formed another conjunto, Los Bravos del Norte, and that group went on to make significant contributions in the 1970s that kept the norteño tradition at its peak.

But perhaps the label of "greatest" belongs to a conjunto that had its origins in Kingsville, Texas, in 1954 — El Conjunto Bernal. Led by accordionist Paulino Bernal and his brother, bajo sexto player Eloy, El Conjunto Bernal began early on to lift the conjunto style to new heights, as the Bernals' absolute mastery of their instruments allowed the group to probe the very limits of the conjunto style. Bolstered by some of the finest singers and drummers within the tradition, El Conjunto Bernal came to be acknowledged as "the greatest of all time." The successes of El Conjunto Bernal's musical experiments, especially in the 1960s, have never been duplicated.

Since the 1960s, the conjunto has remained rather static, despite the advent in the 1980s of so-called "progressive" conjuntos, which incorporate newer, synthesized sounds into the basic style. Neither these newer conjuntos nor those who pursue the older style have succeeded in transcending the limits set by El Conjunto Bernal, but this relative lack of innovation has not slowed the spread of the music. Thus, despite its relative conservatism, the tradition has expanded far beyond its original confines along the Texas–Mexico border. In the last 30 years the music has taken root in such far-flung places as Washington, California, and the Midwest, as well as in the entire tier of northern Mexican border states, and even in such distant places as Michoacán and Sinaloa.

As it spreads its base in the United States, norteño conjunto music, especially as synthesized by Los Bravos del Norte and its successors (e.g., Los Tigres del Norte), continues to articulate a Mexican working-class ethos. In its stylistic simplicity, its continuing adherence to the canción ranchera and working-class themes, and most importantly, in its actualization in weekend dances, the conjunto remains the bedrock music for millions of people whose everyday culture is Mexican at its core. More than that, however, the conjunto represents a clear musical and ideological alternative to the Americanized forms that more acculturated, upwardly-mobile Mexican Americans have come to embrace. Accordionist Paulino Bernal best summarized the musico-ideological significance of the conjunto when he recalled the sharp status differences that existed among Mexican Americans of an earlier era:

> . . . at that time there was a division — that he who liked the orchestra hated the conjunto. That's the way it was: "Who's going to play, a conjunto? Oh no!" Those who went with Balde González [a middle-class orchestra] were not going to go over here with a conjunto. (personal interview with the author)

Thus, although nowadays it is patronized by many ethnically sensitive, middle-class Mexican Americans, conjunto continues to represent an alternative musical ideology, and in this way it helps to preserve a Mexican, working-class culture wherever it takes root on American soil. Endowed with this kind of symbolic power, conjunto has more than held its own against other types of music that appear from time to time to challenge its dominance among a vast audience of working-class people.

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La Onda Bajita:

Lowriding in the Borderlands

Michael C. Stone

The term "lowriders" refers to automobiles that have been lowered to within a few inches of the road in the expressive style of *la onda bajita*, "the low wave," or "the low trend." It also refers to the people who craft them and to those who own, drive or ride in them. On both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border and throughout the greater Southwest, lowriders and their elaborately crafted *carritos*, *carruchas*, or *ranflas* — other names for their vehicles — contribute their particular style to the rich discourse of regional Mexican-American identities. Paradoxically expressed in automotive design, lowriders' sense of regional cultural continuity contributes a distinctive social sensibility to the emergent multicultural mosaic of late 20th-century North America (Gradante 1982, 1985; Plascencia 1983; Stone 1990).

A synthesis of creative imagination and technical mastery pushed to their limits, cars with state-of-the-art hydraulic technology perform stunt hopping, but raise their "ride" for driving clearance. Skid plates shower sparks into the night when dipped to drag over the pavement, while neon art illuminates windows, trunk, and underchassis. Cultural and religious icons decorate body and interior in bold murals and etched glass, as lowrider caravans move slowly across a complex southwestern social landscape.

Lowriding first drew widespread attention in the late 1970s, sensationalized in "cruising" films like *Boulevard Nights*, burlesqued in Cheech and Chong's classic, *Up in Smoke*, and framed as cultural curiosity in print (King 1981; Trillen and Koren 1980). In a more serious vein, *Low Rider* magazine, together with the music of bands like War, and the Luis Valdez film, *Zoot Suit*, evoked images of social and material realities of barrio life in shaping and broadcasting the *bajito* identity and style. As a public forum on Mexican-American identity, *Low Rider* magazine recast pejorative stereotypes — the culturally ambiguous *pocho-pachuco* (Paredes 1978; Valdez 1978; Villareal 1959), the dapper zoot-suiter (Mazón 1984), the street-wise *cholo* homeboy, the *pinto* or prison *veterano*, and the wild *vato loco* (Johansen 1978) — as affirmative cultural archetypes emerging from the long shadow of Anglo domination.

The style apparently arose in northern California in the late 1930s, but evolved in Los Angeles, where its innovators responded to Hollywood's aesthetic and commercial demands. Yet lowriders also assume a critical stance. They distinguish "low-and-slow" style by asking, "Whose cars are high?" (Trillen and Koren 1980). They censure hot rodders, "who raise their cars, making all kinds of noise and pollution, racing down the streets killing themselves, if not others." By contrast, lowriding expresses pride in hand craftsmanship learned through community apprenticeship and mechanical work in the military, auto detail shops, and garages, and pride in economy — the practical need to maintain one's own vehicle inexpensively.

From southern California, migrants transported the style throughout the Southwest. César Chávez recalls that by the 1940s, farmworkers found cars essential to moving quickly from job to job. Cars also embodied social status: "We were traveling around. . . . You always wanted to go into the dance [looking] right . . . [to] come in with good cars — we were migrants and the cars meant quite a bit" (Gutiérrez 1980:43).

Migrants brought lowriding east into Texas. Innovator Richard Salazar says lowriders from Los Angeles founded an early El Paso club, the

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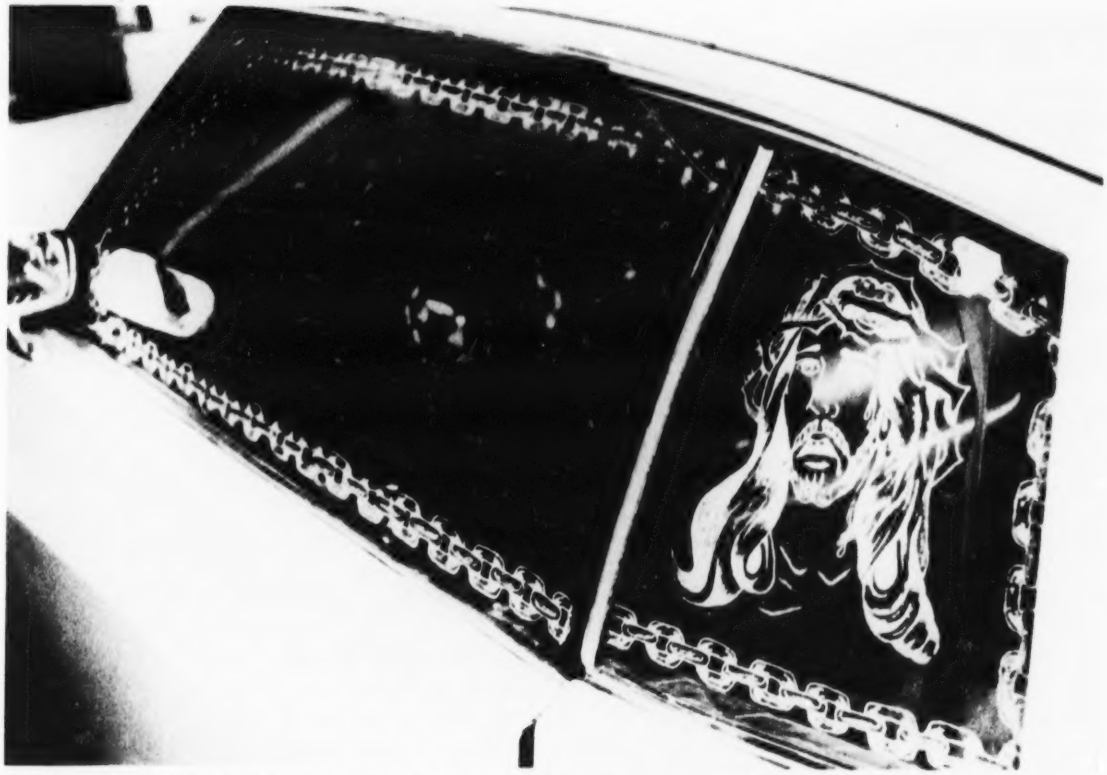
Michael Stone is a doctoral candidate in Social Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin, and holds an M.A. from Stanford University. He has published and has a forthcoming work in such diverse journals as Studies, Social Science and Medicine, Human Organization, *and the* Handbook of Texas.



Gustavo "Sleepy" Grado, a Juárez muralist, etched his car window with traditional lowrider motifs — a figure of Christ and a chain. The steering wheel is welded chain. ***Photo by Lyle Rosbotham***

Imperials. Don Américo Paredes recalls that postwar Crystal City, Texas, aficionados would convene at the Dairy Queen to see which car was low enough to knock over a cigarette pack. But lowriding was part of a broader "car culture" (Flink 1975) of antique and custom shows, hot rods, stock cars, drag racing, and demolition derbies. The Nevarez and Salazar brothers, early bajito creators, first exhibited in national custom shows that added El Paso to the circuit in the early 1970s.

Lowriding selects from the symbols of the dominant Anglo culture, and asserts counter meanings that express values in Mexican American experience. A San Antonio native recalls,

> Culturally we lived in two worlds. Across the street from our house on Guadalupe Street, the jukebox from Julio's Cantina blared out Mexican *corridos* and *conjunto* music. We learned the words to Jorge Negrete's songs long before we ever heard of Frank Sinatra. The Malt House . . . was West San Antonio's most famous hamburger and chicken fried steak drive-in. It had a bilingual jukebox [where] we first heard Little Richard and Elvis Presley. No one forced us to choose; we easily accepted both musical traditions (Romo 1986:57).

One veteran explains his nostalgia for "oldies" music, period clothing, and cruising drive-in movies and burger joints as reminders of "the best decade of life . . . [my] teen-aged years" (Gradante 1985:73). Another says, "Lowriding is the Chicano *American Graffiti*," referring to the popular Anglo "cruising" film. Lowriding redefines these prevailing cultural forms with the fluid, multiple, and often conflicting meanings of its bicultural world, celebrating a Mexicano heritage that is also irrevocably American. Lowriding also contests the conformity of mass youth culture, and softens the hard edge of industrial culture. As El Paso lowrider alumnus George Salazar (now a Justice Department attorney, drug rehabilitation activist, and Rio Grande Food Bank chairman) observes,

> The Latin can express his flair for the romantic almost anywhere, even taking a product off a General Motors assembly line and giving it an identity. Maybe . . as more Mexican Americans . . . enter the governing institutions of our country, the same warmth will infect the system. Why not? If we can make something as American as a car reflect our culture, we can probably do it with anything (Weisman 1986:101).

Lowriding is a declaration of cultural pride, a historically resonant expression of contemporary Mexican American identity. Rooted in working class experience, lowriders' hand-crafted improvisations upon industrial style are a self-affirming response to the homogenizing forces of mass production and Anglo cultural ideals.

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Mortars and Metates

Alice Fay Lozano

as told to Ian Hancock

Alice Fay Lozano is one of the Mexican Afro-Seminoles. The Seminoles originally came west from Florida, first to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma in the 1830s, and then to Nacimiento in northern Mexico some 12 years later. In both instances, they were distancing themselves from slave raids into their settlements. In 1870, some of the Nacimiento people came north again into Texas to serve as Scouts for the U.S. Army, settling in Brackettville after they were discharged in 1914. The word seminole *is a Creek Indian reinterpretation of the Spanish* cimarrón, *meaning, among other things, "fugitive." When the British were using Africans and Native Americans as slaves in the Crown Colonies during the 17th and early 18th centuries, a number of those people threw off their yoke of bondage and escaped south into Spanish Florida. Indian Cimarrones, or Seminoles, were not subject to the same harassment as the African Seminoles, and not all of them left Florida, though almost all of the African Seminoles did. In Oklahoma, nearly all of the Indian Seminoles remained, while the African Seminoles continued on to Mexico, and subsequently to Texas.*

Today, the Seminoles in Mexico (known locally as Muscogos*) are fewer than 200, and a similar number live in and around Brackettville 30 miles north of the Texas border. Although there are Afro-Seminole communities elsewhere — in Oklahoma, Florida, and the Bahamas — the Border Seminoles are different. While retaining their language and many of their traditions, both groups have adopted newer elements of culture: those of the* frontera norteña. *Ms. Lozano lives most of the time in Nacimiento, sometimes spending time with relatives in Del Rio, but preferring the peace and spirituality of her home at the foot of the Mexican mountains. During an afternoon, talking in her yard about an African-looking mortar, which sat on the ground not far from a Mexican grindstone, she commented that the two really represented the Indian and African heritage of her people. I asked her to elaborate.*

From the yard around my hacienda in El Nacimiento de los Negros I can look down across the valley to some other homesteads and see men tending their goats and cows, and women hanging their washing out to dry. Here at the foot of the Sierra Madre range, an hour's drive from Melchor Musquíz, Coahuila State's capital city, everything is hushed and peaceful. Only the wind, and the noise of the animals pushing through the brush, break the silence.

In my yard you'll find a mortar and pestle, which we call *maata en maatastick* in our own speech, and you'll find a grinding stone, in Spanish called a *metate y tejolote*. More than anything else, these two tools for preparing food symbolize the dual heritage of our Black Seminole people, for one is African, and the other Indian.

The mortar is far too heavy for me to lift; it consists of an upright oak log about a foot across and two or three feet high, with a depression cut into the top several inches deep. The pestle is about five feet long, and is also cut from oak. It is about three inches in diameter except for the last foot on each end, which is wider, and rounded so that it can crush the dried corn kernels and other things we use it for. The metate is about a foot square with four small feet, and is carved out of one piece of stone. It has a flat top which curves inward slightly, and the tejolote, or grinder, looks like a fat stone cigar and is used

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Alice Fay Lozano is a Black Seminole from Nacimiento de los Negros, Coahuila.

Ian Hancock is Professor of Linguistics and English at the University of Texas at Austin. His major work has been with the English-related Creoles and Romani. His pioneering work in Brackettville, Texas, brought to light the fact that the Seminole Maroons of this community have maintained a distinct language, Afro-Seminole Creole, closely related to Gullah. He earned his Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

Alice "Nina" Fay Lozano enjoys the tranquility of the Sierra Madre mountains that surround the Muscogo community of Nacimiento de los Negros in northern Coahuila, México. *Photo by David Bosserman*

with both hands to mash peppers and other things on the surface. Sometimes we also use a *molcajete*, which is like a small stone mortar and pestle, and is used with just one hand.

Things are different now, because some of the homes in Nacimiento have electricity and electric blenders, but food processed that way doesn't come out the same, and it sure doesn't taste as good. Another sign of the changing times can be seen inside the pantry; provisions from Musquíz, or even from Del Rio across the border, are our staples now, but it wasn't always like that. In the early days, everything we ate we grew and prepared ourselves. In leaner times we would go up into the Sierra Madre to cut down the royal palms growing there, from which we could make a flour called *kunteh*. We'd mash and soak the fibers, strain them through a fine sieve, and use their starchy sediment to make tortillas. We don't need to do that any more, but people in Nacimiento still use the natural medicines that grow all around. Plants in the area are brewed into teas to remedy all kinds of ailments. Even the *yerba loca* is boiled with water as a pain reliever, especially during childbirth.

Much of our daily fare is Indian in origin. Some dishes, like *suffki* (a kind of cornmeal porridge) we brought with us from Florida; its name is from the Creek language. Others, like *toli* (sweetened and spiced cornmeal pudding) or fry bread probably come from Mexican Indians. We also make and eat chorizo, tamales, and all kinds of other regional foods, which are not exclusive to the Seminoles. One popular African dish is sweet potato pudding, which we call *tettuh-poon*. Some of these we make at any time, while others are for special occasions, such as birthdays or funerals or the New Year.

The Border Seminoles differ in some ways from Seminole communities elsewhere, because of our special connection with Mexico. Seminoles in Oklahoma or Florida or the Bahamas for example, don't share that history, and would find some of the things we eat unusual.

Some people think we already spoke Spanish before we reached Mexico, having learned it first in Florida. But one thing is certain, wherever we learned it: Spanish has taken over as our main language in Nacimiento. Only a handful of older folk still speak Seminole. The settlement even has more outsiders living there today than Seminoles themselves, who have moved out to other towns, or up to Texas, especially to Brackettville. With the new interest in our people, and the establishment of the Seminole Center and Museum in Del Rio, and the attention the Folklife Festival has brought us, our own grandchildren are beginning to take a renewed interest in their special history. Our language and culture, our own unique blend of African and Native American and Mexican, may yet survive to be enjoyed by the generations to come.

The Chinese in Baja California

Maricela González Félix

Translated by Héctor Antonio Corporán

Las incursiones iniciales de la población china a Baja California se suscitaron entre 1860 y 1880, cuando los chinos de California inauguraron la Bahía de San Diego con la industria de la pesca del abulón. Posteriormente los chinos arribaron en mayor número con la apertura de las tierras a la agricultura en el Valle de Mexicali en los primeros años de este siglo. Luego de haberse iniciado la expropiación de las tierras y las dotaciones ejidales a fines de la década de los treintas, los chinos quedaron excluidos del proceso de colonización y explotación de la tierra. Con ello los chinos empezaron a concentrarse en las actividades comerciales y de servicios hasta ese momento poco desarrolladas, al tiempo que sus asentamientos se empezaron a ubicar en la ciudad.

The Chinese played an important role in the 19th century development of the California and Baja California coast and border region. They created the first abalone fishing industry along the coast and were a major part of the work force that transformed the border region into the productive Imperial Valley on the California side and the Mexicali Valley on the Baja California side. Chinese have always lived in separate communities, but their presence has greatly contributed to defining the culture of the region, particularly that of Mexicali.

Chinese were attracted to California in the middle of the 19th century by the discovery of gold and the territorial expansion of the United States, which offered job opportunities, high salaries, and possibilities of acquiring farm land. The majority of the migrants were poor farmers from the province of Canton, who were fleeing poverty and war.

Chinese first came to Baja California between 1860 and 1880. They extended the San Diego Bay abalone industry along the Baja California coast down to Bahía de Tortugas. Chinese migration from the U.S. to the northern border states of Mexico was accelerated by a series of anti-Chinese movements in the United States, culminating in the first Chinese exclusion law in 1882. Chinese settled primarily in Baja California, Sonora, Sinaloa, and Tamaulipas.

Chinese later arrived in greater numbers, drawn by the land and employment promotions of various foreign companies during the last decades of the 19th century, which were aimed at attracting tenant farmers to this scarcely populated region. At the turn of the century, the Colorado River Land Company built irrigation works and opened the Mexicali Valley for agricultural development.

Chinese contractors from California provided the company with the necessary labor to work the virgin lands of the Mexicali Valley at a low cost. The Colorado River Land Company leased the land to independent Chinese contractors, who in turn sub-leased it to Chinese farmers. In this way, the company indirectly controlled the different phases of farming production, making the Chinese intermediaries for United States businessmen in the exploitation of Mexican resources.

The relationship between United States investors, Chinese contractors, and Chinese workers substantially changed after the Mexican government stopped Chinese immigration in 1921. Other factors contributing to the change were the government's 1936 expropriation of land owned by foreign companies in Baja California and the growth of the Mexican population in the peninsula. Chinese and other foreign groups — Japanese and East Indians — were

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Maricela González received her B.A. in Sociology at the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California in Mexicali and is a researcher at the Museo Regional at the Universidad. In 1977, she worked in a maquiladora in Mexicali. She is author of El proceso de aculturación de la población de origen chino en la cuidad de Mexicali, *which examines the acculturation process of the Chinese community in Mexicali.*

excluded from the subsequent redistribution of these lands. As a result, they began to concentrate on commercial and service activities mainly in Mexicali, leaving their earlier, rural agricultural pattern of settlement.

Another important movement of Chinese to the region occurred during the 1930s anti-Chinese movement in Mexico. After the Mexican government cancelled Chinese immigration in 1921, various state congresses approved discriminatory legislation prohibiting marriages between Chinese and Mexicans, creating special zones to isolate the Chinese, and deporting illegal Chinese immigrants.

Part of the life history of an elder Chinese man from Mexicali illuminates those years of conflict:

> We left Mexico when I was 12 or 13 years old, more or less in 1931 or 1932. We left Mexico City due to the anti-Chinese campaign. In those days almost all the Chinese were discriminated against and insulted by Mexicans. I remember that when we went to school other kids threw stones and called us *chales*.
>
> Although there were many people who tried to prevent those kids from bothering us, there were always others ready to insult us. So that when some didn't offend us, others were devoted to doing so. They would insult us without reason, only because we looked Chinese. Almost daily we were attacked with stones, and unfortunately, we lived in that situation for more than two years.
>
> The government at that time clearly sought to get the Chinese out of the country, one way or another. As a result, many mixed families were broken. A husband would not be allowed to take his wife with him, much less his children who were born in Mexico. These things took place in various states of the Republic. One could not live in that constant harassment. The government of that time did not want the Chinese in Mexico.
>
> It seems that at that time a group of people with very strong interests had come together, and were devoted to harassing the Chinese. That group, if I remember correctly, was named the Anti-Chinese Party or something like that — I don't remember the name exactly. And in spite of the government's knowing of their activities, it did nothing to stop their cruelties, like those that are said to have happened in the state of Coahuila, where dozens of Chinese lost their lives in confrontations with Mexicans. And in Ensenada we know that some Chinese committed suicide because of that.

Today the Mexican Chinese community supports itself through small- and medium-sized commercial activities like restaurants, real estate brokerages, money exchange centers, hotels, and a variety of retail stores. Recently arrived Chinese usually come with six month residence permits to work in these establishments. Chinese in this western border region have lived for a long time in a contradictory situation of economic integration and sociocultural segregation, a condition which continues today, as exchanges between Chinese and Mexican populations in the region remain predominantly economic.

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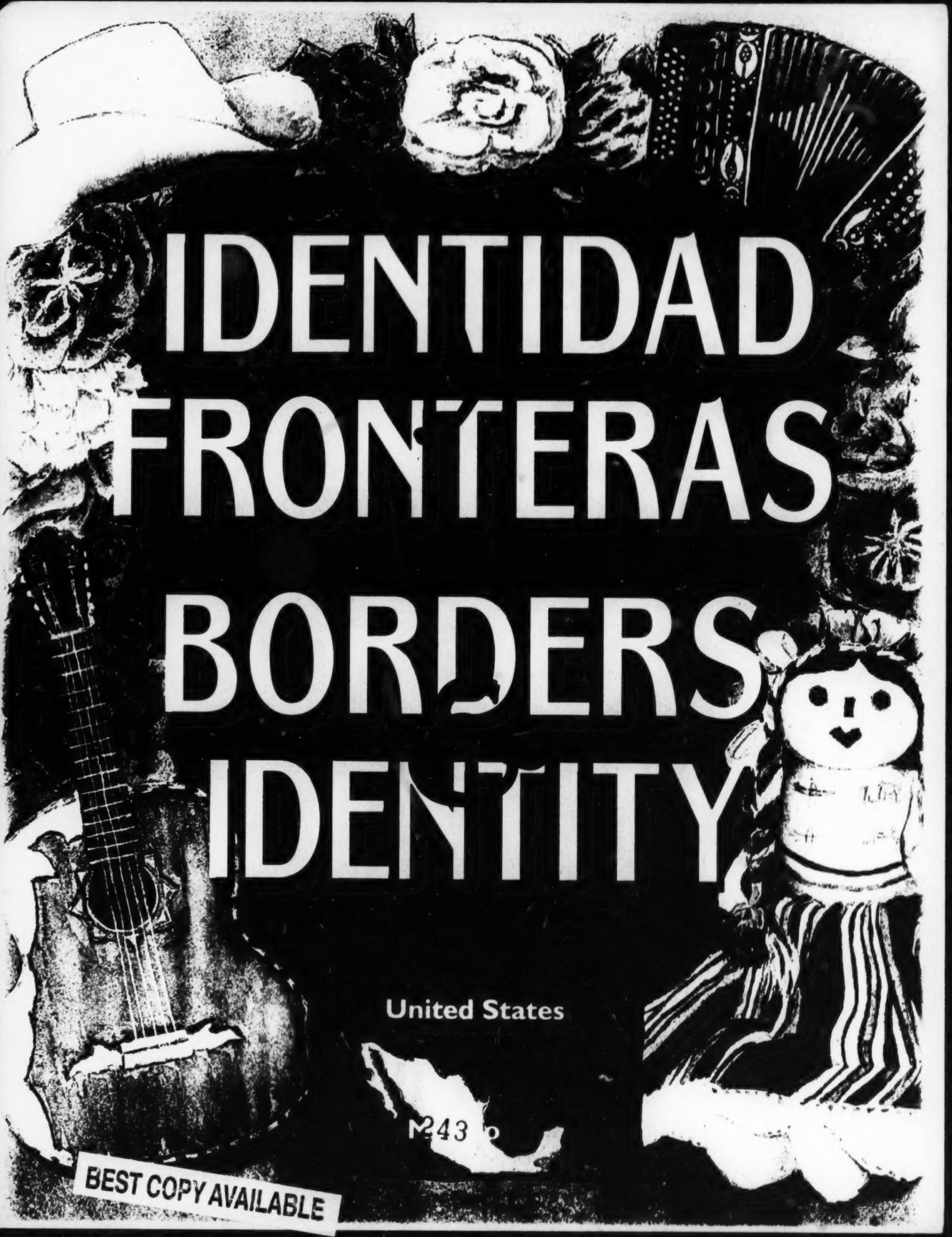
IDENTIDAD FRONTERAS

BORDERS IDENTITY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THE TOHONO O'ODHAM INDIANS

of southern Arizona collect a type of moth cocoon from Mexico for their sacred dances. As the patrol of the border tightens, it becomes increasingly difficult to collect the cocoons.

LOS INDÍGENAS TOHONO O'ODHAM

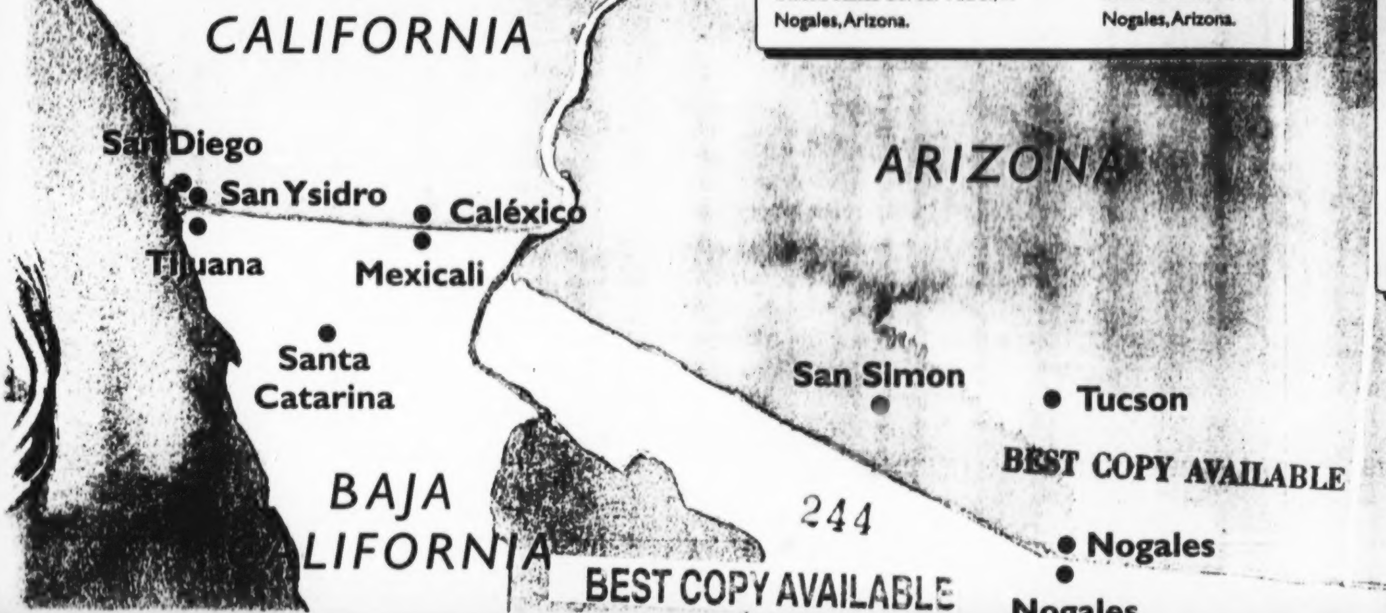
del sur de Arizona recolectan en México el capullo de un tipo de polilla para sus danzas Pascola. Con el creciente control sobre la frontera, se ha vuelto muy difícil conseguir los capullos.

REYNALDO HERNÁNDEZ

says he was raised on a horse. Reynaldo's early experience on the ranches of South Texas helps him in his current job as a member of the United States Border Patrol, in Nogales, Arizona.

REYNALDO HERNÁNDEZ

dice que se crió a caballo. Su experiencia de joven en los ranchos del sur de Texas le ha sido provechosa en su trabajo actual con la Patrulla Fronteriza estadounidense en Nogales, Arizona.


CALIFORNIA
San Diego
San Ysidro
Caléxico
Tijuana
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Santa Catarina
BAJA CALIFORNIA
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STAURANT
PAGODA
IDA CHINA Y MEXICANA

LANGUAGE/LENGUAJE

"This is a very complicated place to live. Every time you open your mouth, you have to negotiate your identity. Is it English? Is it Spanish? It's the same me. But Spanish and English are so different that it's like different me's, at the same time."

"Este es un lugar muy complejo. Cada vez que abrimos la boca, negociamos nuestra identidad. ¿Será inglés? ¿Será español? Soy el mismo yo, pero el español y el inglés son tan diferentes que es como ser un otro yo al mismo tiempo."

Enrique Lamadrid, Albuquerque, New Mexico

Bilingual (Mixteco-Spanish) school ▶ **• Escuela bilingüe (mixteco-español)**
Tijuana, Baja California
Photo by/Foto de David Maung

GUANG ZHOU
BEA
ARTIC

AIDS KILLS
LOVE SAFELY
SIDA
UN ESFUERZO MUNDIAL LO VE

▲ **Mural**, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval

▲ ***Store signs*** **• Anuncios de tiendas**
Mexicali, Baja California *Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval*

◀ ***Drug store*** **• Farmacia**
Tijuana,
Baja California
Photo by/Foto por Olivia Cadaval

"The
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▲ ***Tires*** **• L**
Photo by/Foto de

Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval

OMAR GALVÁN

is a *vaquero completo* from Hebbronville, Texas, with over 60 years of ranching experience. His father, grandfather, and great grandfather all worked on ranches, as did his ten brothers.

OMAR GALVÁN

es un vaquero completo de Hebbronville, Texas, que tiene más de 60 años de experiencia en el rancho. Su padre, su abuelo y su bisabuelo todos trabajaron en ranchos, igual que sus 10 hermanos.

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Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval

BLACK SEMINOLES

migrated west from Florida to avoid slave raids of the late nineteenth century. William "Dub" Warrior, from Del Rio, Texas, and Gertrude Factor Vásquez from Nacimiento de

SEMINOLES NEGROS

inmigraron de la Florida hacia el oeste para evitar la esclavitud a fines del siglo XIX. William "Dub" Warrior de Del Rio, Texas, y Gertrude Factor Vásquez de Nacimiento de los

NEW MEXICO
El Paso
Ciudad Juárez

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CIUDAD JUÁREZ, CHIHUAHUA

OJINAGA, TEXAS

RECYCLING/RECICLAJE

> *"The tradition of the border is essentially one of invention, of transformation, of making use of materials that are immediately available."*

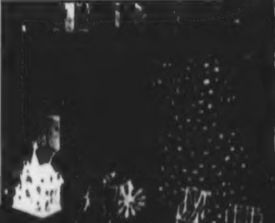
> *"La tradición de la frontera es esencialmente de invención, de transformación, de aprovechar lo que se tiene a la mano para cualquier propósito."*

Pat Jasper, Austin, Texas

Armando Flores ▲
***Blacksmith* • Herrero**
Laredo, Texas
Photo by/Foto de Rick Vargas, Smithsonian Institution

▲ ***Tires* • Llantas** Tijuana, Baja California
Photo by/Foto de Joan Walber

▲ **Guadalupe Carrasco Leyva**
***Quilter* • Artesana que hace colchas**
El Divisidero, Chihuahua *Photo by/Foto de Emily Socolov*


Gloria Moroyoqui de Roques ▶
***Flowermaker* • Artesana de flores de papel**
Nogales, Sonora *Photo by/Foto de Rick Vargas, Smithsonian Institution*

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LA FAMILIA LAYTON

de Elsa, Texas, ha estado

LA VIRGEN DE GUADALUPE

"La gente dice que todo pueblo en México tiene su santo. Nosotros en Estados Unidos, como pueblo chicano, tenemos a la Virgen de Guadalupe como nuestra imagen."

"People say that every pueblo in Mexico has its saint. We in the United States have, as a pueblo Chicano, we have the Virgin of Guadalupe as our image."

Norma Cantú, Laredo, Texas

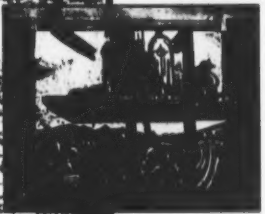
▲ ***A yard shrine***
• Un altar en el patio
Laredo, Texas
Photo by/Foto de Norma Cantú

Designs for cholo artwork ▶
• Placasos o diseños de arte cholo
Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval

The marketplace ▲
• El mercado
Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval

◀ ***A roadside altar***
• Un altar al lado del camino
Baja California
Photo by/Foto de Alfonso Cardono

MURALES/MURALS



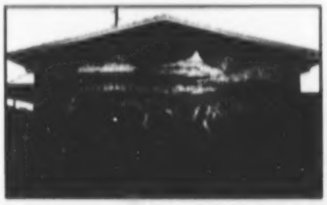
"Nosotros con los murales vamos a la gente; damos a conocer a la gente cosas que no se pueden decir abiertamente con palabras."

"With murals, we reach out to people; we tell people things that one cannot say with words."

Gustavo Grado Tiscareño, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua

Mural on wall of house ▲ **• Mural en la fachada de una casa**
Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
Photo by/Foto de Lyle Rosbotham

▲ **"Placaso Puente Negro"**
Mural by Brigada por la Paz on bridge between Ciudad Juárez and El Paso **• Mural de Brigada por la Paz en un puente entre Ciudad Juárez y El Paso**
Photo by/Foto de Pete Reiniger



"El Chuco y Que" ▶
Mural by Carlos Callejo
• Mural de Carlos Callejo
El Paso, Texas
Photo by/Foto de Michael Stone

Neighborhood **• Colonia** ▶
Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua
Photo by/Foto de Lyle Rosbotham

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SONORA

tplace ▲
mercado
Chihuahua
Olivia Cadaval

l camino

Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval

OFELIA SANTOS LÓPEZ

left the Mixteca Baja in Oaxaca when she was seventeen, in search of economic opportunities. Now she is president of the Unión Mixteca de Comerciantes y Artesanos de Artículos para el Turismo in Tijuana, Baja California.

OFELIA SANTOS LÓPEZ

a los 17 años salió de su tierra en la Mixteca Baja en Oaxaca en busca de trabajo. Ahora es presidenta de la Unión Mixteca de Comerciantes y Artesanos de Artículos para el Turismo en Tijuana, Baja California.

Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval

EDUARDO AUYÓN

is a Chinese painter from Mexicali, Baja California. In the late 19th century, his father migrated from China to Chiapas. In the 1950s, Auyón moved north to Mexicali, which had become a refuge for many Chinese immigrants.

EDUAR AUYÓN

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Mexicali, Ba
A fines del
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Photo by/Foto de Alfonso Cardona

BENITO PERALTA

is a storyteller and leader among the Pai Pai Indian community of Santa Catarina, Baja California. His ancestors arrived in the region 2500 years ago.

BENITO PERALTA

es un cuentista y líder de la comunidad indígena pai pai de Santa Catarina, Baja California. Sus antepasados llegaron a la región hace 2500 años.

Photo by/Foto de Olivia Cadaval

MAQUILADORAS

contribute to increased employment and industrialization of the border, but they often add to the pollution of the region. In recent years, binational agreements and low-wage labor have attracted these U.S. assembly plants to the Mexican side of the border.

MAQUILADOR

han contribuido tant
a la industrialización
de la frontera como
la contaminación
ambiental. En los
últimos años, los
acuerdos binacionale
y los sueldos bajos
han atraído a fábricas
de ensamblaje al lado
mexicano de la
frontera.

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TIJUANA, BAJA CALIFORNIA

NOGALES, ARIZONA

los Negros, Coahuila, are descendants of these early settlers.

Negros, Coahuila, son sus descendientes.

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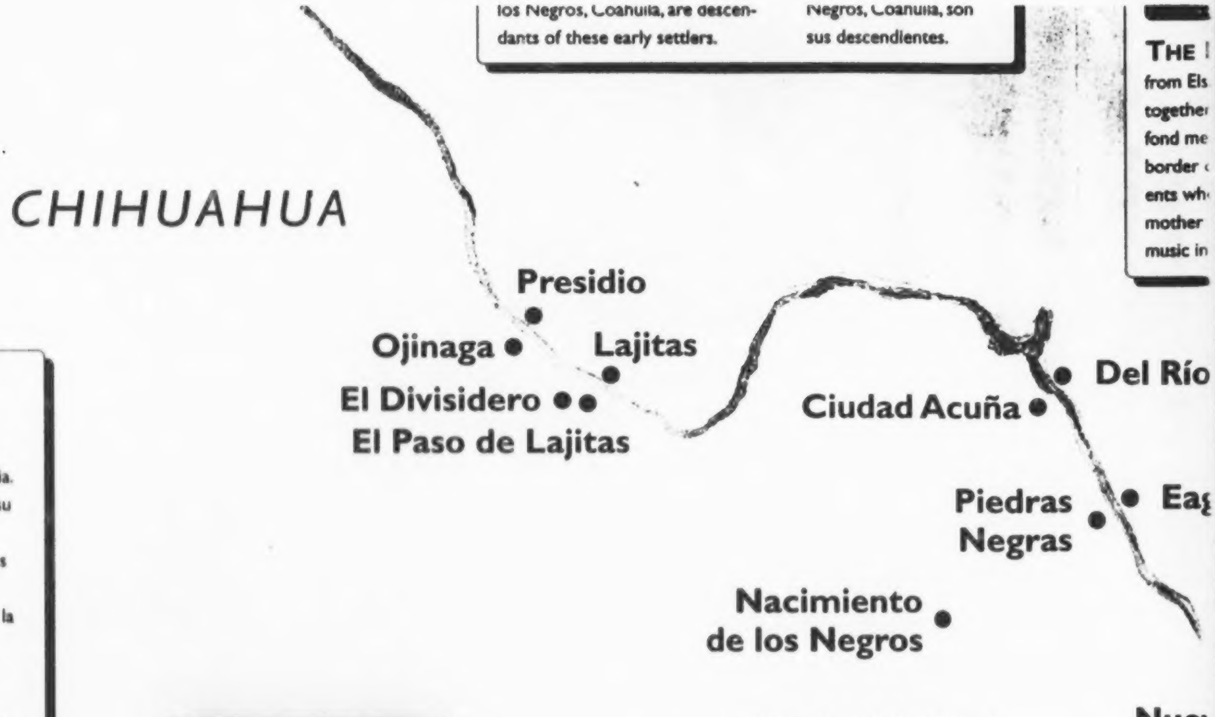
CHIHUAHUA
Presidio
Ojinaga
Lajitas
El Divisidero
El Paso de Lajitas
Del Río
Ciudad Acuña
Piedras Negras
Eag
Nacimiento de los Negros
COAHUILA
Nuev
Larec
NUEV
LEO

EDUARDO AUYÓN

es un pintor chino de Mexicali, Baja California. A fines del siglo XIX, su padre inmigró de la China a Chiapas. En los años 1950 Auyón se trasladó a Mexicali en la frontera norte, una ciudad que se había vuelto en un refugio para inmigrantes chinos.

LOS ALEGRES DEL NORTE

migrated to Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, from central Mexico seeking economic opportunities. They *cascarear* (play for money) *norteño* music and sing regional *corridos* at the Juárez Market.

LOS ALEGRES DEL NORTE

inmigraron del centro de México a Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, en busca de oportunidades económicas. "Cascarean", o tocan piezas de música norteña y corridos regionales a pedido de los clientes en el Mercado Juárez.

QUILADORAS
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samblaje al lado
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ra.

BALTAZAR "BALTO" RODRÍGUEZ

is the only member of his family to remain in Mexico. He makes ranching implements with handcrafted tools and local materials. From his home in El Paso de Lajitas, Chihuahua, Balto can look across the Río Grande to Texas.

BALTAZAR "BALTO" RODRÍGUE
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Balto hace impl
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mano y materia
Desde su casa
de Lajitas, Chih
puede ver al ot
Río Bravo hacia

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NOGALES, SONORA
farmacia DEL Mi

THE LAYTON FAMILY

from Elsa, Texas, has been singing together for over 30 years. They have fond memories of traveling across the border on weekends with their parents when they were young. Their mother shopped, and they listened to music in the *cantinas* with their father.

años. Entre las memorias de su juventud recuerdan cruzar la frontera los fines de semana con sus padres. Mientras que su mamá se iba de compras, escuchaban con su padre la música en las cantinas.

FECHAS CLAVES EN LA HISTORIA FRONTERIZA

10,000 years ago - *Earliest Native settlers in the region* ■ Hace diez mil años - Primeros pobladores indígenas en la región

1500s - *Spanish colonists introduce ranching to the region* ■ Colonos españoles introducen la ganadería en la región

1659 - *First settlement and mission of the Virgin of Guadalupe at El Paso del Norte* ■ Establecimiento del primer poblado en El Paso del Norte y de la misión a la Virgen de Guadalupe

1790s - early 1800s - *First Anglo-American fur traders, merchants and explorers to the region* ■ 1790s - principios de 1800 - Primeros comerciantes y exploradores angloamericanos en la región

1820s - *First Anglo-American ranchers to the region* ■ Primeros rancheros angloamericanos en la región

1835-36 - *Texas Revolt and Independence* ■ Secesión e independencia de Texas

1840s - *Black Seminoles to region* ■ Muscogos (Seminoles negros) a la región

1846-48 - *United States-Mexico War- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* ■ Guerra entre México y los Estados Unidos- Tratado de Guadalupe Hildago

1853 - *Gadsden (Mesilla Valley) Purchase* ■ Tratado de la Mesilla

1880s - *Railroads reach both the U.S. and Mexican border* ■ Llegan los ferrocarriles a la frontera tanto del lado americano como del mexicano

late 1800s - *Chinese immigrants to border region* ■ fines de 1800 - Immigrantes chinos a la frontera

1910-17 - *Mexican Revolution* ■ La Revolución Mexicana

1942-1965 - *Bracero Program* ■ Programa Bracero

1954 - *Operation Wetback* ■ Operación Mojados

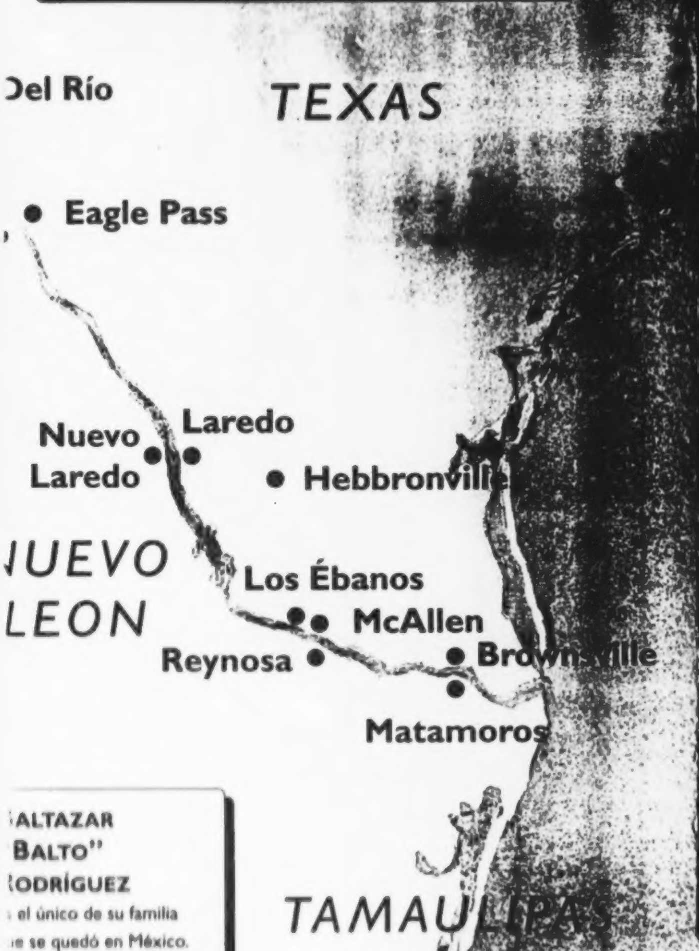
1960s - *Migration of Mixtecos from Oaxaca* ■ Inmigración de los mixtecos de Oaxaca

1965-66 - *Border Industrialization Program* ■ Programa de Industrialización de la Frontera

1960s-1990s - *Border population increases from 4 million to 9.3 million* ■ La población fronteriza aumenta de 4 milliones a 9.3 milliones

1994 - *North American Free Trade Agreement* ■ Tratado de Libre Comercio

A more complete timeline can be found in the Borders and Identity Education Kit from the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution ■ Una cronología más completa se encuentra en el material educativo Identidad y Fronteras del Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies.



ALTAZAR
BALTO"
ODRÍGUEZ
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ano y materiales locales.
esde su casa en El Paso
Lajitas, Chihuahua, Balto
ede ver al otro lado del
o Bravo hacia Texas.

NUEVO LAREDO, TAMAULIPAS

LOS ÉBANOS, TEXAS

Niño

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SAN YSIDRO, CALIFORNIA

TIJUANA, BAJA CALIFORNIA

NOGALES, ARIZONA

Photo by/Foto de Rick Vargas, Smithsonian Institution

THE TOHONO O'ODHAM INDIANS

of southern Arizona collect a type of moth cocoon from Mexico for their sacred dances. As the patrol of the border tightens, it becomes increasingly difficult to collect the cocoons.

LOS INDÍGENAS TOHONO O'ODHAM

del sur de Arizona recolectan en México el capullo de un tipo de polilla para sus danzas Pascola. Con el creciente control sobre la frontera, se ha vuelto muy difícil conseguir los capullos.

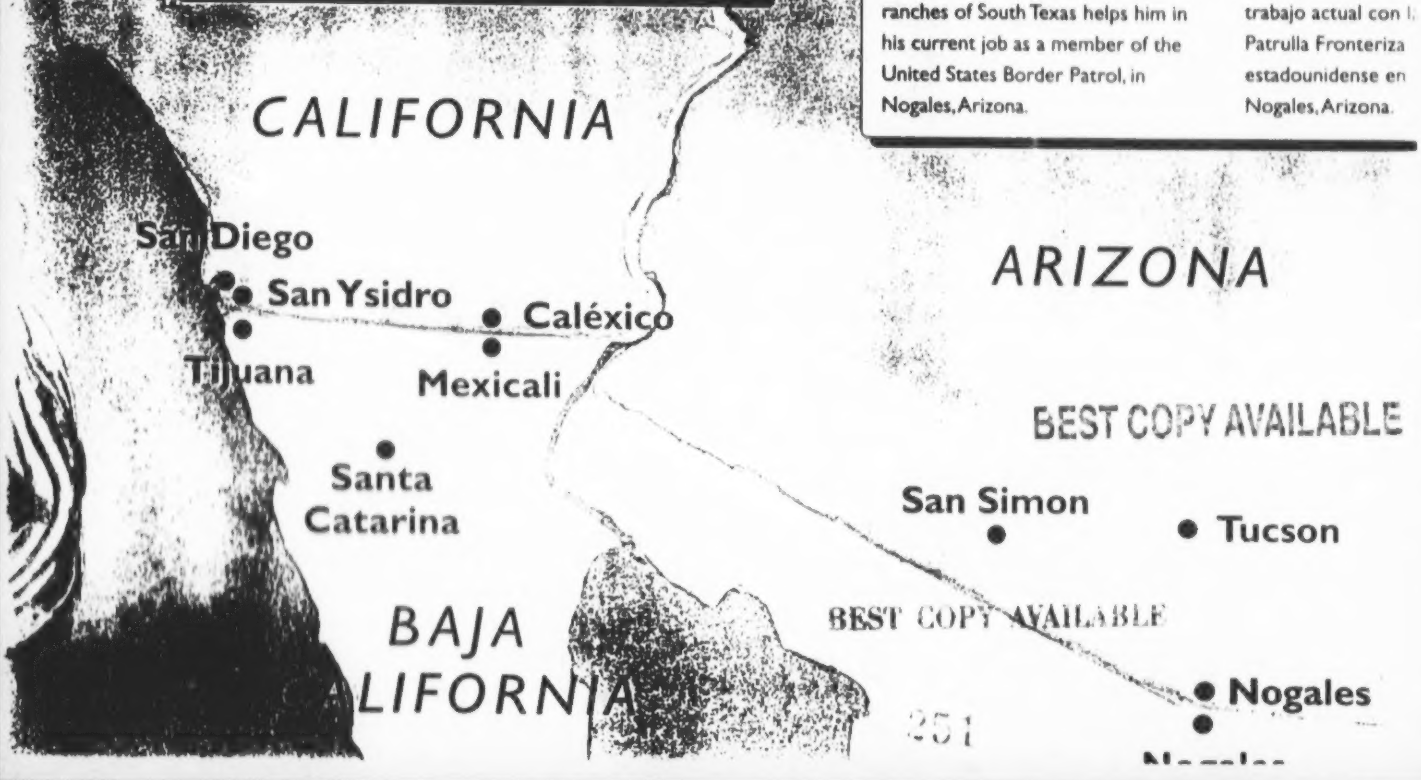
Photo by/Foto de Cynthia Hernández

REYNALDO HERNÁNDEZ

says he was raised on a horse. Reynaldo's early experience on the ranches of South Texas helps him in his current job as a member of the United States Border Patrol, in Nogales, Arizona.

REYNALDO HERNÁNDEZ

dice que se crió a caballo. Su experien de joven en los ranchos del sur de Texas le ha sido provechosa en su trabajo actual con l Patrulla Fronteriza estadounidense en Nogales, Arizona.


CALIFORNIA
San Diego
San Ysidro
Caléxico
Tijuana
Mexicali
ARIZONA
Santa Catarina
San Simon
Tucson
BAJA CALIFORNIA
Nogales
Nogales

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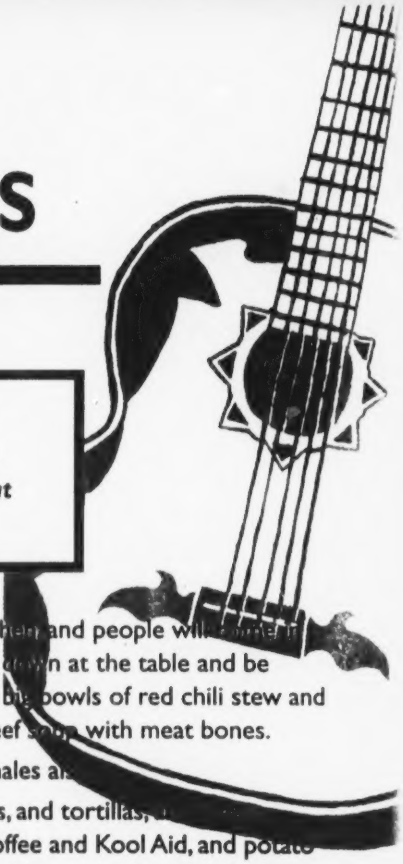
BORDERS IDENTITY

CELEBRATIONS



POSTER STUDY

Looking at the poster, in what kinds of places do you find images of the Virgin of Guadalupe along the border? What does this tell you about forms of belief along the border?

FURTHER INVESTIGATION

At the 1993 Festival of American Folklife, Blaine Juan, a member of the Tohono O'odham Indian Nation in Southern Arizona, spoke with Jim Griffith, a folklorist at the University of Arizona in Tucson, about the celebrations in his community. These celebrations involve music, dancing, and food. As Jim Griffith explains, you can't learn the music in school, or from a book in the library: this is strictly a living, oral tradition. What other information can you find about this community and its celebrations?

Jim Griffith: Blaine, can you paint a picture of what a feast is like in one of the small villages? How many people live in San Simon, a couple hundred?

Blaine Juan: No, it's about 30 families.

Jim: And how many people would come in for a feast?

Blaine: Oh, they'll be coming from a distance. They'll probably have maybe about 300.

Jim: And you feed everybody.

Blaine: We feed everybody.

Jim: And when he says feed, he really means feed. The ladies will be cooking all day in an open-air kitchen and people will come in shifts and sit down at the table and be served great big bowls of red chili stew and beans and beef soup with meat bones.

Blaine: Tamales al

Jim: Tamales, and tortillas, bread, and coffee and Kool Aid, and potato salad, because these people aren't living in a museum, they're living in nowadays. So they do some old-fashioned things, and they do some modern things, like potato salad. And this goes on all night. All night they feed people in shifts, and all night the dance band plays.

? What does Jim Griffith mean when he says, "These people aren't living in a museum, they're living in nowadays"?

? Think about the celebrations in your life. These might include religious celebrations, family get-togethers, or sports tournaments at school. How do these events combine old beliefs with new traditions, or, as Jim says, "old-fashioned things" with "modern things"?

This map has been made possible through the support of many peoples and institutions, including the Arizona Commission on the Arts, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, International Bank of Commerce, Longview Foundation, Meadows Foundation, Smithsonian Institution Educational Outreach Fund, Southwestern Bell Telephone, Texas Committee for the Humanities, Texas Folklife Resources, and U.S.-Mexico Fund for Culture.

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LANGUAGE

POSTER STUDY

How does the presence of Spanish, English, and indigenous languages influence the way people speak along the border? What evidence of this can you see in the poster?

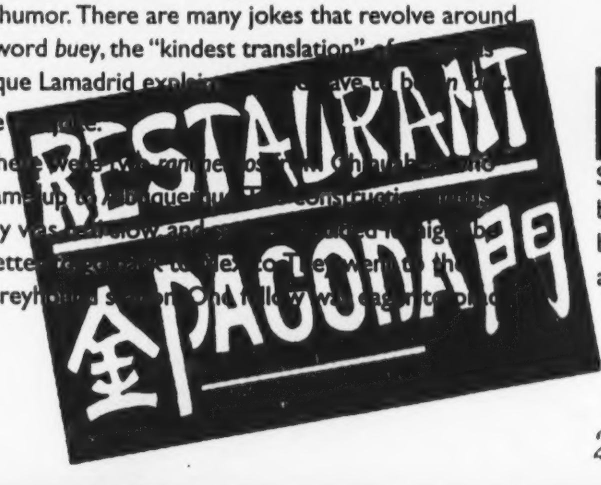
FURTHER INVESTIGATION

> *In my community, we don't live right on the border, but the border does affect us. The border is inside us. We negotiate our identities as border people every time we open our mouths. The line doesn't run through our communities, but we carry that line within ourselves. Those of us who have been fortunate enough to balance those two sides, those two selves, those two languages, are very valuable people. We have a great resource to offer both sides of the line, as mediators, as communicators, as people who are at the front lines of this cultural struggle.*
>
> Enrique Lamadrid, Albuquerque, NM

What does Enrique Lamadrid mean when he says, "We carry that line within ourselves"? How can the ability to speak two languages give you the feeling of having "two selves"?

Along the border, jokes often illustrate the complexities of language. The border region is a rich source for bilingual humor. There are many jokes that revolve around the word *buey*, the "kindest translation" of [illegible] Enrique Lamadrid explain[illegible] ave to b[illegible] Here[illegible] joke:

> The[illegible] were tw[illegible] *ranche*[illegible] [illegible] who came up to Albuquerque. [illegible] construction [illegible] try was [illegible] slow and [illegible] ded [illegible] ight be better [illegible] to [illegible] exico. They went to the Greyh[illegible] station. One fellow was eager to prac-
> tice the new words of English he had learned.
>
> **Rancher:** Miss, ticket us for Juárez, please.
>
> **Ticket agent:** We don't go to Juárez. We go to El Paso, though.
>
> **Rancher:** Oh, okay, ticket us for El Paso, please.
>
> **Ticket agent:** Is that one way [pronounced so it sounds like "*buey*"]?
>
> **Rancher:** No, *somos dos.*



What do you need to know to understand this joke? Does Enrique's comment about those who are "fortunate enough to balance two languages" make more sense now?

At the Festival in Washington, Carmen Moreno offered another example of the intermingling of Spanish and English:

> *We're talking about chicanismos. We say* vamos a parkiar el carro. A parkiar? *What is this? Chicanismos. It's easier to say* parkiar el carro *than* estacionar el carro.
>
> Carmen Moreno, Cathedral City, CA

Language evolves constantly. A *chicanismo* is an expression that combines English words with Spanish grammar. New vocabulary can also be created by changing a noun into a verb. For example, *computer* becomes *computerize*. Can you create a new word from a noun?

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TRADITIONAL ART

POSTER STUDY

Judging from the photographs in the poster, where might you look for murals along the border? What other examples of art do you see in the poster? Where are these found?

FURTHER INVESTIGATION

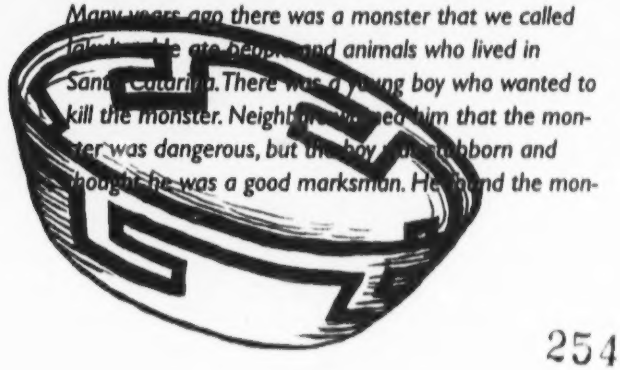
Traditional art comes in different forms. Some are visual: murals, lowrider cars, shrines to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Some are verbal: songs and stories. *Corridos* are songs which singer Carmen Moreno describes as "living history lessons."

> *Whenever anything really unusual happens, people write songs about them. Horse races, people getting struck by lightning, all the strange and unusual events. When you are way out there in South Texas, you write a ballad about it.*
>
> Enrique Lamadrid, Albuquerque, NM

? Do you know any *corridos*, or "living history lessons"? Can you think of other songs that describe events that have happened in your lifetime? Can you write a *corrido* about some of the historical events described in the poster?

Benito Peralta comes from the Pai Pai Indian community in Baja California. At the Festival of American Folklife, he told the following story about his community:

> *Many years ago there was a monster that we called Jakultat. He ate people and animals who lived in Santa Catarina. There was a young boy who wanted to kill the monster. Neighbors warned him that the monster was dangerous, but the boy was stubborn and thought he was a good marksman. He found the monster lying on the top of a rock. He pulled out his arrows. He heated the head of an arrow until it became bright red. He put the arrowhead on the arrow and got ready to pull it. He aimed directly at the monster. He got him right in the ribs, and the animal fell. Then the boy ran away. He ran very fast. As he ran, he turned and saw a flame. The flame went north, then west, then east and south. We call that flame the tongue of the animal.*
>
> *The boy had a hat made out of reed palm and some sandals made of rope or yucca. He threw these into the fire. The flame wrapped itself around his hat and shoes, but the boy kept running. He wanted to tell his neighbors that he had wounded the animal, but he left before he found out whether Jakultat had died. We don't know if the animal died or whether he just left, but this is where the town of Santa Catarina is located.*



At the Festival, Everardo Garduño, a scholar who has worked with Benito for many years, explained that many think this story refers to the first colonizers, who wiped out almost all native peoples of the region with firearms. In1884, indigenous peoples rebelled against the colonizers, and the colonizers were expelled. The Indians continued living as Indians, but without their traditional hat, sandals, and quiver, just as the boy threw his to Jakultat's hungry fire.

? Do you consider Benito's story to be a "living history lesson"? What lessons do you learn from the story? Think of a time when you confronted a force more powerful than yourself. What happened? Did the experience change you and/or your beliefs?

OCCUPATIONS

POSTER STUDY

What are some of the occupations noted in the poster? How do you think these occupations are affected by the presence of an international border?

FURTHER INVESTIGATION

> *I can sing three hours in English and one Mexican song, and I am categorized as a Mexican artist. I sing at one of the best Mexican restaurants in town, and I sing what people expect, but a watered-down version – it's really a complex thing – I sing* "Solamente Una Vez," *but they like to hear it in English. I have to make my music familiar to the clientele of that Mexican restaurant, which is maybe eighty percent Anglo tourists.*
>
> Carmen Moreno, Cathedral City, CA

? Why would a tourist want Carmen Moreno to perform a "watered-down" version of *"Solamente Una Vez"*?

As Carmen explains, the tourism in the border region affects her musical repertoire. Tourism affects the Mixtecos who sell crafts in Tijuana as well. At the Festival of American Folklife, Ofelia Santos López, a vendor in Tijuana, explained that she sells more when she wears her traditional Mixtecan clothes.

? How do Ofelia's clothes affect her commercial success? Why?

Olga Lidia Cortés, a Mixteco teacher and basket maker, explained how the border affects pricing. The same baskets sell for 25 cents in Oaxaca and $1.00 in Tijuana. This price increase attracts vendors to the border region. Carmen and Ofelia remind us that living and working on the border require ingenuity. The following story shows that such resourcefulness also extends to smugglers.

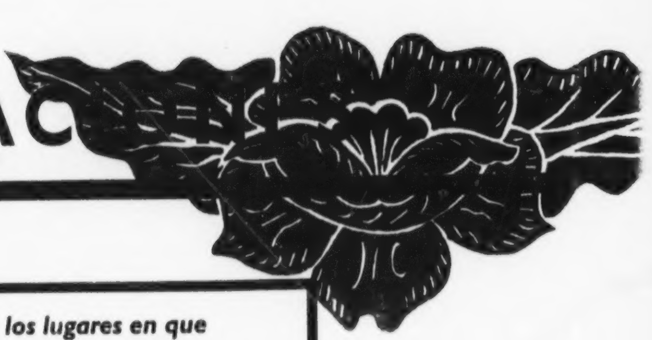
> *I remember a story about a guy that the customs officials were sure was smuggling. He would come up to the aduana (the customs office) every day, and he'd come across on a bicycle. He'd ride across and they'd search him every time. Finally the head of customs talked to him. He said, "Ignacio, I'll tell you what, we are going to make a deal with you. You tell us what you are smuggling, and we'll let you go. We'll never stop you again." Ignacio looked at the customs agent and said, "Bicycles."*
>
> Arturo Carrillo Strong, Tucson, AZ

Much of the news about the U.S.-Mexico border concerns smuggling. The reports often focus on drugs, but what appears to be smuggling can at times be something quite different. As Enrique Lamadrid says,

> *Américo Paredes [a border folklorist and historian] defines [a type of] smuggling as cooperation across the border. Smuggling can be as simple as a cake that one family has baked on one side of the border and brings across the river. Taking that cake across can be illegal when you are supposed to go forty miles downstream to the proper border crossing. Instead of driving those forty miles all the way down there and back, you walk, you wade fifty yards across the river with your cake to give your neighbor a piece. So there are all kinds of things that can be called smuggling.*

? Can you think of other examples in which "smuggling" might be seen as a form of cooperation?

CELEBRAC



EXAMINA EL MAPA

Observa el cartel y busca los lugares en que aparece la imagen de la Virgen de Guadalupe. ¿Qué te dicen esas imágenes sobre las diferentes formas que toma la religiosidad en la frontera?

PARA DISCUTIR

Las celebraciones de la nación indígena tohono o'odham del sur de Arizona, incluyen música, baile y comida. En el Festival de Culturas Populares Americanas de 1993, Blaine Juan, un miembro de la comunidad, platicaba con Jim Griffith, un folklorista en la Universidad de Arizona en Tucson, sobre estos eventos. Jim Griffith explica que la música y los otros elementos de estas celebraciones se transmiten por tradición oral. No se pueden aprender en la escuela o de un libro en la biblioteca. ¿Qué más se puede saber sobre esta comunidad y su celebraciones del siguiente diálogo?

Jim Griffith: Blaine ¿podrías describir una fiesta en uno de los pequeños pueblos? ¿Cuánta gente vive en San Simón? ¿Unas doscientas personas?

Blaine Juan: No, son como 30 familias.

Jim: ¿Y cuántos vienen a una fiesta?

Blaine:Tal vez unos 300.Vienen de muy lejos.

Jim: Y ustedes le dan de comer a todos.

Blaine: Si, alimentamos a todos.

Jim: Y cuando dices "alimentamos a todos", quieres decir dar de comer de veras. Las señoras cocinan todo el día al aire libre, y la gente llega en tandas. Se sienta a la mesa y se le sirve grandes platos hondos de guisado de chile rojo con frijoles y sopa de res con hueso.

Blaine: Tamales también.

Jim: Tamales, tortillas y pan de trigo; café y Kool Aid y ensalada de papa también, porque esta gente no vive en un museo, es gente moderna y vive en la actualidad. Hace cosas a la manera antigua, y otras modernas, como la ensalada de papa. Y así en esos festejos transcurre toda la noche. Toda la noche la gente come en tandas y la banda toca música.

? ¿Qué significa Jim Griffith cuando dice "esta gente no vive en un museo, vive en la actualidad"?

? Piensa en las celebraciones que hay en tu vida. Pueden ser religiosas, pueden ser encuentros familiares o competencias deportivas en la escuela. ¿Cómo se combinan creencias antiguas con nuevas tradiciones, o como dice Jim, "cosas a la manera antigua" con cosas "modernas"? ¿Quién se responsabiliza del planeo del evento? ¿Quién prepara la comida? ¿Ha cambiado esto de épocas pasadas?

LENGUAJE

EXAMINA EL MAPA

¿Cómo influyen el español, el inglés y los idiomas indígenas en la manera de hablar de la gente en la frontera? ¿Qué evidencia encuentras de esto en el cartel?

PARA DISCUTIR

> *En mi comunidad, no vivimos en la frontera, pero ésta ciertamente nos afecta. Está dentro de nosotros. Negociamos nuestra identidad fronteriza cada vez que abrimos la boca. La línea no pasa por en medio de nuestras comunidades, pero llevamos esa división dentro de nosotros mismos. Aquéllos de nosotros que hemos tenido la ventaja de manejar esos dos lados, esas dos personas, esos dos idiomas, sabemos lo que valemos. Podemos ofrecer nuestros servicios a cada uno de los lados como mediadores, como comunicadores, como personas que están al frente de esa lucha cultural.*
>
> Enrique Lamadrid, Albuquerque, New México

? ¿Que quiere decir Enrique Lamadrid con "llevamos esa división dentro de nosotros mismos"? A ti, ¿Hablar dos idiomas te hace sentir que es "dos personas"? ¿Por qué?

En la frontera, los chistes suelen ilustrar las complejidades del lenguaje. La región fronteriza es una fuente rica de humor bilingüe. Hay muchos chistes alrededor de la palabra buey/güey (en inglés suena como "*way*"), "cuyo significado más amable es idiota", como explica Enrique Lamadrid. Veamos el siguiente chiste:

Eran dos rancheritos de Chihuahua que fueron a Albuquerque. Había poco trabajo de construcción y decidieron regresar a México. Fueron a la estación Greyhound. Uno de ellos tenía muchas ganas de usar las nuevas palabras en inglés que había aprendido.

Ranchero: Miss, ticket para Juárez, please.

Agente de boletos: No vamos a Juárez. Pero vamos a El Paso.

Ranchero: Bueno, okay, ticket para El Paso, please.

Agente de boletos: ¿Es *one way* (de ida)?

Ranchero: No, somos dos.

? ¿Qué se necesita para entender el chiste? ¿Tiene ahora más sentido el comentario de Enrique sobre las personas que tienen "la ventaja de manejar dos idiomas"?

? En el Festival en Washington, Carmen Moreno ofreció otro ejemplo sobre la práctica de mezclar inglés y español:

> *Hablemos sobre chicanismos, palabras que se intercambian. Decimos "vamos a* parkiar *el carro". ¿A* parkiar*? ¿Qué es eso? Un chicanismo. La gente empieza a decir* parkiar *el carro en vez de estacionar el carro porque es más fácil.*
>
> *Carmen Moreno, Cathedral City, California*

? Carmen describe un chicanismo como una palabra en inglés a la que se le aplica gramática castellana. Otra forma de crear un vocabulario es hacer verbos de sustantivos. El mundo de la industria constantemente está inventando palabras nuevas. Por ejemplo, cambiar un sustantivo como "computadora" al verbo "computarizar". ¿Puedes crear una palabra nueva a partir de un sustantivo?

ARTE TRADICIONAL

EXAMINA EL MAPA

Juzgando por las fotos en el cartel, ¿donde encontrarías murales en la frontera? ¿Qué otros ejemplos de arte hay en el cartel? ¿Dónde se encuentran?

PARA DISCUTIR

El arte tradicional aparece en diferentes formas. Algunas son visuales: murales, carros "onda bajita", capillas dedicadas a la Virgen de Guadalupe. Otras formas son verbales como las canciones y los cuentos. Los corridos, por ejemplo, son canciones que Carmen Moreno describe como "lecciones de historia viva".

> *Cuando algo realmente fuera de lo normal ocurre, el pueblo crea una canción sobre el suceso: puede ser sobre carreras de caballo o sobre personas a quienes les ha caído un rayo; puede ser cualquier hecho extraordinario. Cuando vives allá en el sur de Texas, escribes corridos sobre eso.*
>
> Enrique Lamadrid, Albuquerque, New México

? ¿Sabes algún corrido, o "lección de historia viva"? ¿Qué corridos describen hechos que han ocurrido desde que tu naciste? ¿Puedes escribir un corrido sobre algún hecho histórico descrito en el cartel?

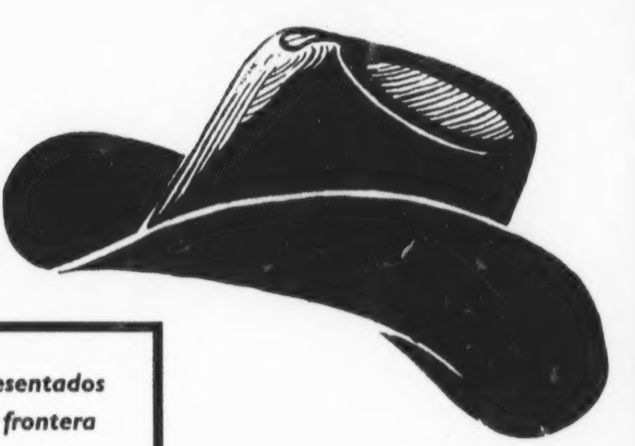
Benito Peralta es de la comunidad indígena pai pai de Baja California. En el Festival de Culturas Populares Americanas narró el siguiente cuento sobre su comunidad:

> *Una vez en mi comunidad había un monstruo que le llamamos Jakultat. Se tragaba a la gente y hasta los animales cuando se le arrimaban. Pero una vez, hubo un indio que se animó matarlo. Los vecinos le dijeron que no se le acercara porque era un animal peligroso, pero el indio era terco y era buen tirador. Además era ligero. Divisó al monstruo sobre una roca. Sacó sus flechas. Calentó la punta de una de ellas hasta que se puso roja. Le puso la punta a la flecha y se preparó para tirar. Apuntó y le dió al monstruo justo en las costillas. En el momento que cayó el animal al agua, el indio huyo. Mientras corría, volteó para atrás y vió una llama que tiró para el norte, luego al oeste, luego al este y al sur. Nosotros llamamos a esa llama la lengua del animal.*
>
> *El indio llevaba un sombrero de junco y unos huaraches de ixtle. Los lanzó al fuego. La llama esa los envolvió, pero el siguió corriendo. Fue y les platicó a los vecinos que había herido al animal, pero huyó antes de saber si Jakultat había muerto. No sabemos si el animal murió o si sólo se retiró de allí. Ahora es el poblado de Santa Catarina.*

En el Festival, Everardo Garduño, un investigador que ha trabajado con Don Benito por muchos años, comentó que algunos piensan que el cuento se refiere a los primeros colonizadores que casi acabaron con los indígenas de la región con las armas de fuego. En 1884, los indígenas se rebelaron contra los colonizadores, y los expulsaron. Los indígenas siguieron viviendo como indígenas pero sin sus sombreros, huaraches y arcos tradicionales, así como el muchacho que arrojó los suyos al fuego hambriento de Jakultat.

? ¿Consideras el cuento de Don Benito como una "lección de historia viva"? ¿Que aprendiste de este cuento? ¿Alguna vez enfrentaste una fuerza superior a tí? ¿Que sucedió? ¿Te cambió la experiencia, o afectó tu manera de pensar? ¿Conservaste algo de lo que eras antes de esa experiencia?

OFICIOS



EXAMINA EL MAPA

¿Cuales son algunos de los oficios representados en el cartel? ¿De qué manera afecta la frontera internacional estos oficios?

PARA DISCUTIR

> *Puedo cantar tres horas en inglés y con sólo cantar una canción mexicana, me clasifican como artista mexicana. Algunos sitios no me contratan por la influencia mexicana, pero canto en uno de los mejores restaurantes mexicanos de la ciudad y canto lo que la gente espera, pero en versión diluída. La situación es bastante compleja. Canto "Solamente una vez" pero la gente la quiere oír en inglés. Tengo que hacer mi programa con la música conocida para la clientela de ese restaurante mexicano, que es 80 por ciento de turistas americanos que no conocen México.*
>
> Carmen Moreno, Cathedral City, California

? ¿Por qué querrá un turista que Carmen Moreno interprete "una versión diluída" de "Solamente una vez"?

Carmen explica que el turismo de la región de la frontera afecta su repertorio musical. También afecta la venta de artesanías mixtecas en Tijuana. En el Festival de Culturas Populares Americanas, Ofelia Santos López, una vendedora mixteca de Tijuana, explicó que tiene más éxito cuando se viste con su traje tradicional mixteco.

? ¿Por qué crees que sea así?

Olga Lidia Cortés, maestra y artesana mixteca, explicó cómo la frontera afecta los precios. Las canastas que se venden en Oaxaca a 25 centavos valen un dólar en Tijuana. Este mejor precio atrae a vendedores a la frontera. Carmen y Ofelia nos recuerdan que vivir y trabajar en la frontera requiere ingenio. La siguiente historia demuestra que la necesidad de ejercitar el ingenio también se aplica a los contrabandistas.

> *Recuerdo la historia sobre un tipo de quien los agentes aduanales tenían la seguridad que traía contrabando. Llegaba a la aduana todos los días y cruzaba en bicicleta. A diario lo registraban y lo maltrataban sin encontrar nada. El supervisor de la aduana finalmente habló con él. Le dijo, "Ignacio, mira, sabemos que traes contrabando pero te vamos a hacer un trato. Nos dices qué traes de contrabando y te dejamos ir. Nunca más te volveremos a detener." Ignacio miró al agente de aduana y le contestó, "Bicicletas."*
>
> Arturo Carrillo Strong, Tucson, Arizona

Muchas de las noticias sobre la frontera México-EEUU son sobre el contrabando. Los reportajes se enfocan sobre las drogas, pero el contrabando tiene una definición mucho más amplia. Como dice Enrique Lamadrid:

> *Américo Paredes [historiador y folklorista de la frontera] define el contrabando como cooperación entre ambos lados de la frontera. Puede ser algo tan sencillo como un pastel que una familia lleva al otro lado del río. En vez de manejar al cruce oficial que queda a 60 kilómetros, cruzas el río caminando 50 metros con tu pastel para ofrecerle un pedazo a tu vecino. Y así a muchas cosas se les puede llamar contrabando.*

? ¿Qué otros ejemplos se te ocurren dónde el contrabando se consideraría una forma de cooperación?